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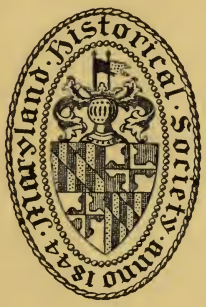

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WILLIAM PACA, 1740-1799

Painted in 1772 by Charles Willson Peale. Deposited at the Maryland Historical Society by the Peabody Institute. Photograph by Frick Art Reference Library.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXVII MARCH, 1942 No. 1

WILLIAM PACA, SIGNER, GOVERNOR, JURIST

By ALBERT SILVERMAN

Of the four Marylanders who signed the Declaration of Independence, William Paca, the two hundredth anniversary of whose birth occurred on October 31, 1940, is perhaps the least known. Paca was born on the north shore of the Bush river, near Abingdon, Harford County, and tradition has it that the family was of Italian origin. Be that as it may, Paca's maternal grandmother was the selfsame beauty and coquette, Elizabeth Martin, with whose name an old nursery rhyme still extant is so free:

Pretty Betty Martin,
Tip-toe! Tip-toe!
Pretty Betty Martin,
Tip-toe fine!

Pretty Betty Martin,
Tip-toe! Tip-toe!
Couldn't find a husband
To suit her mind.[1]

By the time the future Signer arrived on the scene, his parents, John and Elizabeth Paca, had not only acquired affluence, but were also well-intrenched politically. Thus young William was afforded almost every advantage that social position and political influence could bring to bear. At fifteen he was sent to the College of Philadelphia, later the University of Pennsylvania, where he was awarded the degree of M. A. in 1759. Returning home, he entered the law office of the celebrated Stephen Bordley of An-

[1] John M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1914), p. 39.

napolis, one of the colony's outstanding legal lights. Then, in 1762, in keeping with the custom of the time, he journeyed to England where he completed his legal training at the Inner Temple, London.

On May 26, 1763, Paca married Mary Chew, daughter of Samuel and Henrietta Maria (Lloyd) Chew, who, according to a contemporary account,[2] had "a very considerable fortune." Of five children that blessed this union only one survived. In 1774 Paca's wife died and two years later he married Anne Harrison, of Philadelphia.

Paca was admitted to the bar of the province in 1764, hung out his shingle in Annapolis and immediately threw himself into the thick of the struggle against the increasing tyranny of the mother country.

Despite the growing pressure of his legal and political activities, Paca found time to participate in the social whirl that made Annapolis one of the gayest of colonial capitals. Thus, for example, on February 9, 1771, together with Thomas Johnson, Jr., he was nominated for membership[3] in the Homony Club, that gay and sprightly group whose antic carryings-on are still spoken of in Annapolis. The Historical Society of the State of Pennsylvania is in possession of a letter[4] in the hand of Paca addressed to the Homony Club and demanding—in mock-serious terms—that the Club's secretary, Mr. William Eddis, be impeached and given "condign punishment" for negligence in the care of the "sacred records of the Society." It seems that Mr. Eddis had permitted his maid-servant to convey the records from the club-rooms to his home. According to the published records[5] of the Club, Eddis was given an elaborate and hilarious trial presided over by Thomas Johnson, "Judge-Advocate." The culprit was found guilty and solemnly admonished by the President.

On the occasion of Paca's re-election to the Club the next year he wrote the following letter to the President, John Brice:

Sir,

Nothing can be more agreeable to me than the honour of being a member of The Respectable Homony Club. My Country's Concerns do not

[2] Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, June 2, 1763.
[3] *American Historical Record*, I (1872), 297.
[4] Paca to Homony Club. Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Hereafter cited as Pa. Hist. Soc.), December 14, 1771.
[5] *American Historical Record*, I, 295-303; 348-355.

interfere with my acceptance of a seat in that much esteemed and applauded institution. I should therefore be happy in uniting the character of a Representative of the City [6] with that of a member of the Homony Club.

I am Sir most respectfully your very humble and obliged Friend

& Servt.

Wm. Paca [7]

At about this time he built his splendid town residence, known since as the Paca house and immortalized by Winston Churchill in the novel *Richard Carvel.* At Paca House, now the Carvel Hall Hotel and still one of the show places of Annapolis, were entertained, with all the punctilio and courtliness of the period, many celebrities, including George Washington.

Paca's political career bears a very striking resemblance to the earlier career of Thomas Jefferson. Like the great Virginian, he was a member of the Sons of Liberty, delegate to the Colonial Assembly, member of the Committees of Correspondence and Public Safety, delegate to the Continental Congress, signer of the Declaration of Independence, member of the State Legislature and Governor. Each of the men, moreover, had a hand in the framing of his own State's constitution. Neither man attended the Constitutional Convention. Again, like Jefferson, Paca viewed the Constitution with mixed feelings. Although he voted finally to ratify the instrument, he fought strenuously for amendments which would set up safeguards against possible Federal aggression in the realm of State and individual rights. At this point, however, the careers of the two men bifurcate and the parallel ceases. Jefferson went on to greater things as Secretary of State, Vice President and, finally, President; while Paca, whose judicial honors already included the chief judgeship of the Maryland General Court and the chief justiceship of the Federal Court of Appeals in Admiralty Cases, concluded his life's work as Federal district judge.

Paca seems to have first come into prominence in the "forty per poll" controversy, in 1772. At this time a great deal of criticism was directed at the Act of 1702 which provided that every minister of the Established Church was to receive forty pounds of tobacco per poll, levied on the taxables of each parish. Inasmuch

[6] Paca represented Annapolis in the Assembly at this time.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

as numerous dissenters had infiltrated into the colony ad interim, the disaffection was both widespread and vociferous. For years this opposition was aired in the discussions between the two houses of Assembly, but on July 30, 1772, the dispute was taken up by the press. On that date there appeared a letter in the *Maryland Gazette* over the name of "Jack Frank" in which it was charged that the Act of 1702 was null and void owing to the fact that it was passed after King William's death and that the Assembly had ceased with his life.

Under the impression that William Paca and Samuel Chase were the authors of this communication, the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, a prominent and militant clergyman of the Established Church, in a letter published in the *Gazette* on the 31st of December took these two gentlemen very sharply to task. From that time on a furious epistolary controversy raged. Paca and Chase replied and the war of words proceeded merrily.[8] The exigencies of space will not permit a detailed account of the feud, but one of its more amusing incidents will be related herewith.

In the course of one of his attacks on Paca, Boucher makes the charge that Paca had gone to Governor Eden and had solicited an office or place of profit. In his effusion, Boucher does not state the imputation as baldly as it is given here; all of his letters, as a matter of fact, are in the best circumlocutory, erudite and bombastic tradition of the day and time. But Paca is mortally offended and must forthwith go to the Governor to ask that worthy to vindicate his honor. From Governor Eden, Paca accordingly obtains a statement reading as follows:

> To William Paca, Esquire.
>
> Governor Eden presents his compliments to Mr. Paca pursuant to the request contained in his letter of the 23rd instant and is very willing to and does declare that Mr. Paca never did solicit from him, personally or representatively, any office or place of profit for himself or any other person.
>
> Annapolis, January 25, 1773.

In a letter to his son, written on March 25, 1773, Dr. Charles Carroll writes:

> Boucher's last Address to Paca dated the 12th instant Gives me a much worse opinion of Him [Boucher] than I formerly Entertained. He

[8] *Maryland Gazette*, January 8, 1773.

cannot be ignorant of the Paper Paca has from the Govr & seems in my opinion to doubt it either to Expose the Govr or to make a difference between the Govr & Paca.[9]

On the very same day, Paca published Eden's statement together with a letter in which his triumph knows no bounds. The peroration of this epistle, in which he apostrophizes Boucher in dithyrambic style, is worth quoting:

Oh! Philander! Philander! *Oh!—Oh Jonathan Boucher! Jonathan Boucher.* Oh!—My good Sir, what do you blush at?—Oh the Doves, the pretty, pretty Doves! Oh!—*Oh Jonathan Boucher! Jonathan Boucher!* Oh!—My dear Sir, what do you bounce at? *Good lack! Good lack!* Mr. Boucher, never speak contemptuously of the abilities of others: only chambermaids simper like surmenty kettles,

"Whist Boucher," frisky in his lay
"Pipes softest musick" all the day.

I am, Sir

Your humble servant,

William Paca.[10]

Before the dispute between Boucher and Paca had completely run its course, the Province was stirred by yet another and more dangerous controversy. In 1770 the Governor had by proclamation laid a series of oppressive taxes on tobacco. The Assembly almost immediately took up the challenge and the proclamation was denounced on grounds of illegality, the *leit motif* of the arguments being that in England fees had been established and regulated by act of Parliament, but that there was no instance of any proclamation by the king for levying fees.

From the halls of the Assembly, this question, too, was transferred to the columns of the press. The first letter[11] in this new contest came from the pen of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and had a powerful effect, not because of the cogency of its reasoning but because of its burning patriotism and defiance. In defense of the proclamation rose Daniel Dulany, whose reply[12] appeared two weeks later. Even though rebuttals and counter rebuttals came thick and fast, Dulany's learned and brilliant statement of

[9] "Extracts from the Carroll Papers," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XV (1920), 56-57.
[10] *Maryland Gazette,* March 25, 1773.
[11] *Ibid.,* February 4, 1773.
[12] *Ibid.,* February 18, 1773.

the Governor's case remained unanswered. Finally, in a paper prepared by Thomas Johnson, Samuel Chase and William Paca and remarkable for erudition as well as devastating logic, Dulany was given adequate answer. In their letter,[13] the brilliant coterie completely demolish Dulany's defense, and with inexorable reasoning demonstrate conclusively that the freemen of the colony and not the Crown or the Proprietary Government were the ultimate source of power.

In a well-considered opinion, Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, late librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, has this to say of the Johnson-Chase-Paca reply:

> The popular opinion has been that Charles Carroll had much the better of the argument with Dulany. In this opinion I do not join though I admit most readily that in Carroll, Dulany found a worthy antagonist and that Carroll's success in arousing the people was most noteworthy, especially when we consider his religious faith . . . My conclusion is that Dulany's arguments found their best refutation in the paper written by William Paca, Thomas Johnson and Samuel Chase.[14]

In another place, Dr. Steiner describes Paca as " the ablest constitutional lawyer of the province at the time and to have possessed remarkable keenness of insight and logical power." [15]

In any case, the fateful pressure of events was about to provide wider scope for Paca's talents, for the quarrel between England and her recalcitrant colonies was rapidly coming to a head. In the spring of 1774, the Assembly authorized the calling together of a Convention to consider the state of relations with the mother country. This Convention was convened at Annapolis on June 22, 1774. Among other things, it denounced the " last offensive measures of Parliament " (the Intolerable Acts) as " cruel and oppressive," opened subscriptions for the relief of the people of Boston, resolved that commercial intercourse with the mother country be broken off, resolved further that a congress of delegates from all the colonies should assemble at an early date and appointed Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca and Samuel Chase delegates for Maryland to the congress.[16] Thus when the First Continental Congress met in September, Paca was a member of the first Maryland delegation to that body.

[13] *Ibid.*, September 9, 1773.
[14] *Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden* (Baltimore, 1898), p. 64.
[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 61.
[16] *Maryland Gazette*, June 30, 1774.

On April 24, 1775, the second Maryland Convention met. Two resolutions were passed immediately, one avowing loyalty to George III and the other recommending that "particular attention be paid to forming and exercising the militia throughout the province." [17] Before adjourning it was resolved

> that it is the sense of this convention that the Honorable Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Robert Goldsborough, Samuel Chase, William Paca, John Hall and Thomas Stone, Esquires, the delegates of our province, or any three or more of them, do join with the delegates of the other colonies and provinces . . . and with them deliberate upon the present distressed and alarming state of the British Colonies in North America . . . and relying firmly upon the wisdom and integrity of their delegates, this province will, as far as in their power, carry into execution such measures as shall be agreed on and recommended by the general congress.[18]

On October 10, 1774, John Adams wrote in his diary that Paca, his colleague in Congress, was a "deliberator." [19] No doubt the Signer was that. But he seems also to have been a man of spirit. His advocacy of independence from England is a case in point. Despite orders from the Assembly of Maryland forbidding the colony's delegation to Congress to participate in the movement looking toward independence, Paca aligned himself with the radicals and lost no opportunity to press for freedom. Finally, on June 28, 1776, the instructions were withdrawn and the delegates were left free to vote for and sign the Declaration of Independence.[20]

In a letter to Samuel Chase dated July 1, 1776, and describing the great debate and the preliminary vote on the question of independence, John Adams writes ". . . Maryland, however, I have the pleasure to inform you, behaved well. Paca, generously and nobly . . ." [21]

While serving in Congress, Paca, who was a member of the important Commerce and Foreign Affairs Committees,[22] together with Samuel Chase and Thomas Johnson wrote a letter which throws interesting light on the importance of Baltimore. Addressing the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, they request the loan

[17] *Maryland Gazette*, May 4, 1775. [18] *Loc. cit.*
[19] E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, D. C., 1921), I, 67.
[20] *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1851-1856), IX, 416.
[21] Burnett, I, 522.
[22] *Ibid.*, IV, 37.

of cannon to defend the "Harbour of Baltimore Town . . . the most considerable place of our trade."[23]

The same Convention that named Paca a member of the Second Continental Congress also appointed him to membership on the provincial Council of Safety[24] and to the committee which waited upon Governor Eden and asked for his parole "that he would not leave the province."[25]

Even though he was a member of Congress, Paca seems not at all to have been averse to taking the field against the enemy as is attested by the following letter which he wrote to Governor Johnson, probably from Wye Island:

Dr. Sir

I came here last friday Evening to take up my family to Philadelphia. Since my arrival the Enemy have reached as far as Cecil Court House, and began yesterday about four o'Clock to land in that neighborhood. Apprehending that I cannot with safety venture to Philad[a], I am determined to remain in this Quarter and share the Fate of my Country. This letter we hope will get to your Hands. . . .

We have three Pieces of Cannon here which carry a Ball of 3[lb] 10[oz] with about 100 Ball they belong to a Vessel we shall fix them immediately on Carriages & make field pieces of them. We have 15 Casks of Powder here containing each about 50 lb. . .

Doctor Bordley who is Lieut of the County represents to me that the People were willing to exert themselves and from the accounts I have from Queen Ann's County they too are equally inclined to defend their Country.

What I can do on the occasion you may be assured shall be done I am determined on it and if in the Heat of Zeal I may advise any Extremity out of the strait Line of the Law or our Constitution I hope I shall be excused: as to Extremities from necessity they will need no Apology or Justification. My Plan is to have a respectable Body of Militia arm'd and assembled immediately and I hope no scoundrel of Tory or Traitor will be able to shew his Head or give any Discouragement to our Exertions.

What assistance you can give us I am sure you will give: My love to all friends.

Yrs Affly
W Paca
Sunday 25 Aug. 1777[26]

A few days later, Paca again writes to Governor Johnson, this time from Chestertown:

[23] Paca, Chase and Johnson to Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, March 19, 1776, Pa. Hist. Soc.
[24] *Archives of Maryland*, XI, 31.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 333.
[26] *Ibid.*, XVI, 344-345.

I have been obliged to call upon the Inhabitants here for their Clock Weights and Window Weights: we wanted Lead: and as we have here every conveniency for making cartridges and men that understand it I intend to make up all Our Powder and get all the lead that I can: We have Tradesmen here that understand the making of every military Article and they are all at work.[27]

On February 11, 1778, Paca was appointed Judge of the General Court of Maryland[28] and took the oath of office in the presence of the Governor and Council on March 9, 1778.[29] According to a letter[30] which Paca wrote to Governor Johnson this post carried no honorarium. However, Paca's presence in Congress must have been sorely missed for in a letter to Governor Johnson dated April 21, 1778, Samuel Chase complains: " I wish Paca wod quit his Judge's Seat, and that our assembly wod appoint him [to Congress]." [31]

But Paca must have grown fond of the judicial life, for two years later he was appointed by Congress as Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals in Admiralty and Prize Cases.[32]

In November, 1782, Paca was elected Governor of Maryland for the first time. He was reelected unanimously in 1783 and again in 1784, his last term ending on November 26, 1785. When the Revolutionary War finally came to an end, it was Paca's privilege as Governor to issue a peace proclamation.[33] He seems to have enjoyed the respect and esteem of many of the country's leading citizens. A letter addressed to him by Washington bears testimony to this:

Head Quarters, March 5, 1783.

Sir: I have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 21st of Febry, respecting the Depredation committed by the Enemy in the Chesapeake Bay; and have taken the Liberty to transmit a Copy of your Letter to Sir Guy Carleton. If the British Commander in Chief shall think proper to make me a reply, his Sentiments shall be communicated to your Excellency as early as possible.

However to be lamented, such practices are, which you mention, yet I have reason to fear that similar ones have been but too frequent on both sides and that Sir Guy may take this occasion to enter into particulars of recrimination. For my own part, I sincerely wish, for the honor of hu-

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 353-354. [28] *Ibid.*, p. 487. [29] *Ibid.*, p. 531.
[30] Dated Oct. 24, 1778. In possession of Pa. Hist. Soc.
[31] *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, 5.
[32] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, February 9, 1780. See also letter from Paca to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress. Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 59, Vol. III, 23, 55, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
[33] *Maryland Journal*, Baltimore, April 15, 1783.

manity, that these Acts of uncivilized War, might wholly cease on either part.

This being the first occasion I have had to address your Excellency, I cannot omit to present you my warmest Congratulations on your Appointment to the Chief Seat of Government; a Circumstance, which, at the same time that I assure myself it will prove very honorable to yourself, I am persuaded, will have a happy Influence on the State over which you preside, as well as upon the General Welfare of the United States. I am &c

Geo. Washington [34]

The depredations referred to in the foregoing must have been a sore trial to Paca. In another letter still extant, addressed to the commander of the French fleet, Paca asks for protection, observing: " It is not indeed improbable that the Enemy may direct their operations against this City [Annapolis] unless we can have some defense by water." [35]

Fortunately, peace was consummated shortly afterward and Paca was enabled to reply to Washington in the following terms:

Annapolis 25th April 1783

Sir,

I have been honored with your Excellency's Favor of March and am exceedingly obliged by your Excellency's attention to the Representation I made of the Enemies Depredations on the Citizens of this State. General Carlton has been so polite as to write me two several letters on the subject and assured me that measures would be taken for the prevention of the like Outrages, but the late general Cessation of Hostilities has rendered those Steps unnecessary, in which important Event I beg leave to offer your Excellency my warmest Congratulations.

I return your Excellency Thanks for your Polite Congratulation on my appointment to the government of this State and shall be happy if by any Exertion in my Department I shall be able to contribute to the General Interest and Welfare of the United States.

With every Sentiment of
Regard and Attachment
I have the Honor to be
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient Humble
Servant

Wm Paca

His Excellency
General Washington [36]

[34] J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington* (Washington, D. C., 1938), XXVI, 95.

[35] Letter dated Feb. 18, 1783, in possession of Pa. Hist. Soc.

[36] Papers of George Washington, Vol. 220, April 25, 1783. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

On the same day, Governor Paca issued his peace proclamation:

In Co[l] 25 Apl. 1783

Sir

We beg leave to congratulate the good people of County upon a Glorious event of a general cessation of Hostilities among the Powers at War which their exertions have so greatly contributed to bring about and we desire you will announce it to them on an appointed Day, by reading to them in the most public place the enclosed proclamation.

Wm Paca

Sheriffs of the
Several Counties [37]

On June 14, 1783, from his headquarters at Newburgh, Washington addressed a twenty-page letter to the various state executives, including Governor Paca, in which he announces his plan to resign his commission and gives his views as to the future of his country and the conduct of its affairs. After congratulating Paca " on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor " he proceeds " to offer sentiments respecting some important subjects. . . . "

There are four things, which I humbly conceive, are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an Independent Power:

1st. An indissoluble Union of the States under one Federal Head

2dly. A Sacred regard to Public Justice

3dly. The adoption of a proper Peace Establishment and

4thly The prevalence of that pacific and friendly Disposition, among the People of the United States which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies and to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the Community.

. . . Unless the States will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives [additional power] they are undoubtedly invested with by the Constitution, everything must very rapidly tend to Anarchy and confusion, That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual States, that there should be lodged somewhere, a Supreme Power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the Confederated Republic, without which the Union cannot be of long duration.[38]

[37] Executive Papers, 1783, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[38] Original in possession of Maryland Historical Society. The entire text appears in Fitzpatrick's Bicentennial edition of Washington's writings, XXVI: 483-496.

It was during Paca's incumbency as Governor that Washington came to Annapolis to surrender his commission. The impressive scene was enacted in the presence of the Governor, the Continental Congress and the State Legislature. Annapolis rose to the occasion and the notables were dined and wined with a lavishness that did full justice to Maryland traditions of hospitality. Paca House was the center of the festivities and there, among others, General Washington and Thomas Mifflin, the President of Congress, were entertained. Upon his arrival, Paca sent Washington the address given herewith:

Annapolis 20th
December 1783
In Council

Sir,

Amidst the general Joy on the happy and honorable Termination of the War we beg leave to welcome your Excellency's return to this City with Hearts full of Gratitude and Affection.

As long Sir as Mankind shall retain a proper sense of the Blessings of Peace Liberty and Safety, your Character in every Country and in every Age will be honor'd, admir'd and rever'd: but to a Mind elevated as yours, the Consciousness of having done Great and illustrious Deeds from the purest Principles of Patriotism; of having by your Wisdom and Magnanimity arrested the Arm of Tyranny—saved a dear Country and Millions of Fellow Citizens—and Millions yet unborn—from slavery and all the Horrors and Calamities of Slavery and placed their Rights and Liberties on a Permanent Foundation—must yield a Satisfaction infinitely superior to all the Pomp and Eclat of applauding Ages and admiring Worlds.

Attached to your Excellency by the strongest Obligation; and feeling the most lively Impression of your unequalled worth and public usefulness, we beg you to accept of our warmest wishes that your Life may be prolonged to a far distant Period—and that it may be as happy in your Retirement as it has been glorious in the Field.

With every Sentiment of Respect and Regard
We have the Honor to be
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient and Humble Servant
Wm. Paca

His Excellency
General Washington [39]

Washington answered Paca's address of welcome as follows:

[39] Papers of George Washington, Vol. 228, Dec. 20, 1783. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Sir:

I shall ever cherish a pleasing remembrance of the welcome reception I have experienced from your Excellency and the Council, on my return to this city after the happy and honorable termination of the war.

The flattering sentiments you entertain of my exertions in defence of our Country, and the favourable point of light in which you place my character, too strongly demonstrate your friendship, not to claim the most grateful return from me.

Convinced from experience of the wisdom and decision which have signalized the government of Maryland, I cannot form a better wish for the future prosperity of the State, than that the same spirit of justice and patriotism, which actuated its councils during a long and eventful war, may continue to dictate its measures through a durable and happy peace.

With the most perfect consideration,
I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient and
most humble servant,
G. Washington [40]

". . . Few tragedies ever drew so many tears from so many beautiful eyes," wrote the editor of the *Maryland Gazette*, "as the moving manner in which his Excellency took his final leave of Congress." [41]

Governor Paca was to have the honor of playing host to George Washington once more, just a year later. The latter was deeply interested in the development of the Potomac for inland navigation westward as far as Cumberland. At his suggestion the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia appointed delegates to meet and draft a navigation measure adequate for the needs of both states. Virginia promptly acted upon the recommendation and appointed Generals Washington and Gates and Colonel Blackburn. The Maryland Assembly reacted in like manner and the Virginians were invited to meet the Maryland delegates at Annapolis. In the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress one may read two letters from General Washington to Governor Paca relating to this conference, the first, dated December 19, 1784, giving notice that he and Gates would attend. The other, written the last day of January following, accompanied the printed text of the Virginia act authorizing the formation of the Potomac

[40] Brown Book, Vol. 11, No. 53, Hall of Records, Annapolis. See also *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 25, 1783.

[41] Issue of Dec. 25, 1783.

Company and sale of stock. Washington prayed that sending it "may be considered as an evidence of my good wishes to the undertaking, and not as an officious interference in the business of the executive."[42] Washington became the Company's first president.

In and out of Congress, during the Revolution and after, Paca laboured strenuously in behalf of the army. When the ragged Maryland Line returned after the war, he left no stone unturned in his efforts to provide for those who were incapacitated or destitute. In a message to the General Assembly, he observes:

> The Patient Sufferings of our Army at different Stages of the War, their patriotic Exertions and Gallant achievements under every Circumstance of Difficulty, give them an unquestionable claim to every public Notice and Regard: And when it is considered how much we are indebted to them for the Liberty and Independence of America, the Principles of gratitude and Justice cannot Fail to produce the most speedy and animated Efforts to make them a generous Compensation for their great and important services.[43]

Later in the same month he writes:

> In Co[l] 31 May 1783
>
> As we conceive it of very great importance that some mode should be adopted for carrying the enclosed resolution of Congress into effect, we take the liberty of again submitting it to your consideration. The poor creatures who are the objects of it, are daily returning to the State, without cloths, without money, and without Friends—and rendered by their wounds and infirmities totally destitute of the means of subsistence.[44]

Still another letter, addressed to Charles Thomsen, Secretary of Congress, attests to his solicitude for the veteran:

> D[r] Sir
>
> If you should want a clerk in your office I take the liberty of recommending Capt. Kelty of the Maryland Line as a proper person for that appointment: he is one whose interest and advancement I wish much to promote and whose character is fair and unblemished.
>
> With great regard
> I am
> dear Sir
> Yr. humbl. st.
>
> 24 Jany. 1784 Wm Paca[45]

[42] Papers of George Washington, Vol. 307.
[43] Executive Papers, 1783, Hall of Records (dated Annapolis, 6th May, 1783).
[44] Executive Papers, 1783, Hall of Records.
[45] Chas. Thomsen Papers, Vol. I, Jan. 24, 1784. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

In recognition of his services Paca was elected an honorary member of the Maryland branch of the Society of the Cincinnati, even though membership in the order was restricted to officers of the Continental Army. The resolution conferring the honor, adopted November 22, 1783, reads in part:

> . . . In consideration of the abilities, merit, patriotism of His Excellency, Governor Paca, this society direct that Secretary-General Williams wait on His Excellency and inform him that this society do themselves the honor to consider him as an honorary member.[46]

At this same meeting he was also chosen—together with Otho Holland Williams, William Smallwood and Nathaniel Ramsay—a delegate to the convention of the General Society.[47]

Governor Paca was keenly interested in education and was instrumental in securing the charter for Washington College. In a message to the General Assembly dated May 6, 1783, he writes apropos of the establishment of the College:

> The Act for founding a College at Chestertown which passed the Session preceding the last will reflect forever a Lustre on its proceedings, and it is with the greatest pleasure we observe that such has been the Zeal of the Eastern Shore for the Advancement of Learning that the sum of five thousand pounds which the Act required and allowed to be raised in five years, has been nearly doubled in less than one year: Nothing can be a stronger proof of the happy influence of Public encouragement, and we trust that the general Assembly will think this College deserving of their further attention and favors and will extend their views to the establishing and encouraging of other Seminaries of Learning in this State.[48]

When Dr. William Smith, member of the College's first Board of Visitors, set out in quest of subscriptions, he made Paca's home on Wye Island his headquarters. The Signer himself subscribed fifty pounds and later generously added to it. An old ledger belonging to Washington College has the following notation: " July 6, 1785. To his Exy. William Paca, Esq. borrowed of him and received by the Revd. William Smith, D. D., £400." [49]

Not content with this, Governor Paca undertook a personal canvas of Queen Anne's with the result that his county was only

[46] *Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers* (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1940), p. 89.
[47] *Loc. cit.*
[48] Executive Papers, 1783, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[49] L. W. Barroll, " Washington College, 1783," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* VI (1911), p. 166.

second to Kent in subscription raising. The honor of laying the cornerstone of the first building fell to his lot and he was among the notables who attended the dedication exercises in 1788.[50]

A club for law students which he founded quaintly sings his praises in the following terms:

> When a man in the tranquility and leisure of private life employs part of his time in the improvement of the rising generation, we readily acknowledge the justice of his claim to the thanks of every considerate mind. But when we behold the Supreme Magistrate of a State, with all the cares of government on his hands, devoting his short intervals of repose to the instruction of Youth, by his knowledge and experience in pointing out to them the path of Virtue and Glory, the most inattentive must admire such conduct and acknowledge it to be far above the reach of panegyric.[51]

Paca was much distressed by financial worries during his incumbency as governor. In a letter to the Intendant of Revenues, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, ordering the latter to supply Maryland's delegates to Congress with funds to rescue them from destitution, he observes:

" Peace, if it brings not a restoration of Public Faith along with it, will hardly deserve to be called a blessing." [52]

It is interesting to note, moreover, that despite his wealth and aristocratic background, Paca, like Chase, was in favor of emissions of paper money,[53] thus definitely aligning himself with the common people.

Several documents still extant testify to Paca's sense of fair play and justice. On Feb. 8, 1779, Benedict Arnold demanded a court martial to cleanse his honor of the imputation of traitorous activities. Paca was chairman in 1779 of the Congressional Committee to investigate the charges which were preferred by the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, of which George Bryan was chairman.[54]

In a printed document issued by the Pennsylvania Council Arnold stood accused of misconduct in no less than eight instances. When asked for evidence to support the charges,

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[51] Robert Wilson, " Wye Island," *Lippincott's Magazine*, April, 1877, p. 473.
[52] Dated March 31, 1783. Executive Papers, 1783, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[53] See Burnett, *op. cit.*, VIII, 557.
[54] See Ms. letters in hand of Paca and replies to him from Bryan. Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 19, Vol. I, folios 147, 151, 153-154. Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

however, Bryan replies that what was contained in the printed proceedings were not charges, but judgments. To this Paca replies:

> We cannot comprehend the legality of such judgments; common justice requires that trial and conviction should precede every judgment of condemnation and common humanity reprobates all convictions founded on ex parte evidence behind the back of the party accused . . . [55]

On another occasion Chevalier D'Anmours, Consul-General of France, interceded in behalf of one Pedro, who had been sentenced to die for murder. In his letter to Paca he points out a possibility of error in the trial and pleads for clemency.[56] Paca in a courteous note assures the Chevalier that he would personally investigate.[57] On Dec. 27, 1783, Paca ordered the condemned man freed with orders to quit the State.[58] In fact, in virtually every case where clemency was recommended by responsible people, Paca seems to have complied.[59] (The death sentence was meted out for stealing or burglary at that time.)

When the Maryland Assembly met for the winter session of 1786-1787, a letter from the Governor of Virginia was read to the delegates, in which he urged that Maryland participate in a convention to be held in Philadelphia in May for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation.[60] The Assembly voted to comply with the request and a committee was forthwith appointed to consider the matter of instructions to Maryland's deputies to Philadelphia. Paca was a member of this committee, but was not one of the coterie which represented Maryland in the Constitutional Convention.

By the time Maryland's convention met in April, 1788, to consider the question of ratifying the Constitution a grave situation had been created. Dr. Steiner explains it in the following words:

> The importance of Maryland's action in ratifying the Federal Constitution was fully appreciated at the time. Six states had already approved the new form of government. . . . The result was in grave doubt in South Carolina, Virginia and New York. New Hampshire's convention had adjourned without taking final action. North Carolina and Rhode

[55] *Ibid.*, folios 157-161. The inquiry was closed on March 5 for lack of evidence.
[56] Dated Nov. 6, 1783. Executive Papers, 1783, Hall of Records.
[57] *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1783.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] Executive Papers, 1783-1785, Hall of Records.
[60] *Maryland Gazette,* February 22, 1787.

Island were avowedly opposed to changing to the new system. If Maryland refused to ratify, or if her convention adjourned without further action, the forces of Anti-Federalism in the doubtful states would be greatly encouraged and might even win the day.[61]

As a matter of fact, the action of Maryland's convention would have been a thoroughly cut-and-dried affair had it not been for the resolutions introduced by Paca calling for amendments (given in full in the appendix to this paper) to the new instrument of government. On Thursday, April 24, 1788, at 4:30 P. M., Paca rose and said

> that he had a great variety of objections to the Constitution in its present form and that although he did not expect amendments to be made the condition of the ratification, he wished them to accompany it, as standing instructions to our representatives in Congress; that under an expectation of obtaining amendments, he might vote for the Constitution, that having just arrived, he was not ready to lay his amendments before the House, but asked for permission to prepare propositions and, in the morning, lay them on the table for consideration of the members; that he wished the amendments to be considered before the ratification because he did not imagine that after it the convention would remain a sufficient length of time.[62]

But Paca was not permitted to read his amendments. Despite the objections of the minority, on Saturday the question of ratification was called for and carried in the affirmative 63 to 11. True to his promise that "he did not expect amendments to be made the condition of ratification," Paca voted for ratification. But still undaunted he again rose and submitted his amendments to the convention

> declaring that he had only given his assent to the government under the firm persuasion and in full confidence that such amendments would be peaceably obtained so as to enable the people to live happy under the government . . . and that he, himself, would support the government with such amendments.[63]

A committee was then appointed to consider Paca's amendments. Unhappily, the Federalists dominated this committee and refused to take any action. The amendments were noteworthy

[61] Bernard C. Steiner, "Maryland's Adoption of the Federal Constitution," *American Historical Review,* V (1899), p. 22.
[62] Jonathan Elliott, *Debates on the Federal Constitution* (Philadelphia, 1881), II, 548.
[63] *Ibid.,* 549.

none-the-less, anticipating as they did many of the safeguards that were later incorporated in the Bill of Rights.

Paca's last public office was as Judge of the Federal District Court to which position he was appointed by President Washington in 1789.[64] The following correspondence[65] reveals, however, that the President was not too enthusiastic about the appointment:

[To James McHenry]

New York, 30 November, 1789

. . . Should it be found that the office of district judge would not be acceptable to Mr. [Alexander Contee] Hanson, Mr. Paca has been mentioned for that appointment; and, although his sentiments have not been altogether in favor of the general government, and a little adverse on the score of paper emissions, I do not know but his appointment on some other accounts might be a proper thing. However, this will come more fully under consideration if Mr. Hanson should not wish to be brought forward; and, in that case, I will thank you to give me information relative to Mr. Paca . . .

Geo. Washington

On this point Mr. McHenry answered:

I have had a long conversation with Mr. Paca. I have every reason to say, that he will make every exertion in his power to execute the trust in the most unexceptionable manner. I believe, also, that the appointment will be gratifying to him, and I think it may have political good consequences.

Annapolis, December 10th.

[To William Fitzhugh]

24 December, 1789

Mr. [Thomas] Johnson has, as you supposed, declined the appointment of judge to the district of Maryland, and I have lately appointed Mr. Paca to fill that office. Mr. Thomas, whom you recommend for that place, undoubtedly possesses all those qualifications, which you have ascribed to him;[66] and, so far as my own knowledge of that gentleman extends, he is justly entitled to the reputation which he sustains. But in appointing persons to office, and more especially in the judicial department, my views have been much guided to those characters, who have been conspicuous

[64] W. C. Ford, *Writings of George Washington* (New York, 1891), XI, 449-450.

[65] *Ibid.*, 447-450.

[66] John Allen Thomas, of St. Mary's, member of the Maryland Convention in 1775 and captain of Fifth Independent Company.

FRONT ELEVATION AND GROUND PLAN OF WYE HALL

Built about 1790 on Wye Island, Queen Anne's County. Burned 1879. It is not known whether or not these plans were carried out in detail. From a reproduction owned by Mr. Madison Brown, Centreville, Md.

in their country; not only from an impression of their services, but upon a consideration, that they have been tried, and that a readier confidence would be placed in them by the public than in others perhaps of equal merit, who had never been proved. Upon this principle Mr. Paca certainly stands prior to Mr. Thomas, although the latter may possess in as high a degree every qualification requisite in a judge.

Geo. Washington

Paca's notification of appointment from the President is cold and formal:

To the Honorable William Paca
Maryland

Sir,

The office of Judge of the District Court in and for the District of Maryland having become vacant; I have appointed you to fill the same, and your Commission therefore is enclosed.

You will observe that the Commission which is now transmitted to you is limited to the end of the next Session of the Senate of the United States. This is rendered necessary by the Constitution, which authorizes the President of the United States to fill up such vacancies as may happen during the recess of the Senate—and appointments so made shall expire at the end of the ensuing Session unless confirmed by the Senate. However, there cannot be the smallest doubt but the Senate will readily ratify and confirm this appointment, when your Commission in the usual form shall be forwarded to you.

I presume, Sir, it is unnecessary for me to advance any arguments to shew the high importance of the judicial System to our National Government, and of course the necessity of having reputable and influential characters placed in the important offices of it. And as I have not a doubt but you are desirous of doing everything in your power to promote the happiness and welfare of your Country, I flatter myself you will accept this appointment.

I am, Sir,

Your most Obedient Serv't

George Washington [67]

United States
Dec. 24th, 1789

On beautiful Wye Island, in Queen Anne's County, the Signer had built a stately mansion, planned and designed, according to tradition, by George Hoban, architect of the White House. Replying to a man who offered to sell or exchange land on Swan Creek, Harford County, he observes: " My residence and principal

[67] Papers of George Washington, Vol. 350, 1790. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

property is on the Eastern Shore and I am endeavoring to add to my landed estate on this shore only." [68]

To his idyllic retreat on the Wye River Paca was wont to come each summer, to invite his soul in the peace of lovely gardens, gentle streams, lush fields and shady woodlands. He delighted in the rounds of visiting and presided with dignity and charm at a board famous for food and wines. The house, which rose above wide terraces and abounded in imported furniture, family portraits, antique plate and rare china, was destroyed by fire in 1879.

John P. Paca, the Signer's son, apparently sought to write a biography of his father and addressed letters to a number of the latter's contemporaries in search of information. The letters quoted below throw interesting light on the character, personality and appearance of Paca.

[To John P. Paca]

Belmont March 24, 1827

His [Paca's] conduct on the Bench as a Judge of the Court of Appeals was that of an able, impartial and exemplary member of the court; and his knowledge conspicuous.

His conduct in Congress was patriotic and free from any partial or narrow propensities on general questions. He was " suaviter in modo, sed fortiter in re."

His enthusiasm in our cause cost him great sacrifice of private property. I shared in some of his unfortunate visions and threw away highly valuable property in imitation of his unfortunate zeal. I can only now recollect it, accompanied by the " infandum jubes renovare dolorem! "

His personal appearance was graceful, his deportment easy, his manners gentlemanly, inoffensive and polished.

Richard Peters [69]

A neighbor of the Signer's, Thomas Marsh Forman, who knew him well, writes in 1827:

As Governor of Maryland he never had a superior, always harmonizing with, and having the confidence, of both houses and his Council. His hospitality to all well-recommended and deserving strangers, as well as to his fellow citizens of Maryland, was as extensive as his ample means. He was really a popular chief magistrate. . . .

Governor Paca was not merely a fine looking man, he was handsome. I should suppose him to have been about 5 feet 11 inches high and in full health to have weighed 190 to 200. He was perfectly erect, graceful

[68] July 17, 1790. Letter in possession of the Pa. Hist. Soc. Addressee unidentified.
[69] From Paca Papers, Portfolio No. 13, Item 46. Md. Historical Society.

and easy in his manner, with a fine eye and countenance indicative of an excellent and kindly disposition. His appearance was prepossessing and would have been noticed if in company with twenty handsome men of polished manners.

If Governor Paca had vices I never heard of them, of his virtues I can say that he was a true patriot, a sincere friend, an uncommon good parent and possessed of a most kindly disposition; he was charitable to the extent of his means. He had a high relish for social intercourse and the serenity of his manners added to a most amiable temper, gave him an enviable standing in every circle he moved in.[70]

A devoted but anonymous friend has left the following testimonial to Paca's last hours:

During his illness he conversed with perfect resignation on his approaching dissolution and cheerfully submitted to sickness and death under a deep conviction of the unerring wisdom and goodness of his heavenly Father and of the redemption of the world by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To the faith and charity of a Christian he added the civil virtues of a gentleman. Fond as a husband, indulgent as a father, constant as a friend, and kind as a master.[71]

William Paca, thrice member of Congress, thrice Governor of Maryland, Signer of the Declaration of Independence and holder of high judicial offices, died on October 13, 1799, in his fifty-ninth year. In the family burial ground at Old Wye, a monument has been erected over a grave believed to be his by the Maryland Society, Sons of the American Revolution.

Appendix

[William Paca's Proposed Amendments [72]]

That it be declared that all Persons entrusted with Legislative or Executive Powers of Government are the trustees and servants of the Public and as such accountable for their Conduct.

Wherefore, whenever the Ends of Government are perverted and public Liberty manifestly endangered and all other means of Redress are ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought, to object to, reform the old, or establish a new Government—That the Doctrine of Non-resistance against arbitrary Power and Oppression is absurd, slavish and destructive of the Good and Happiness of Mankind—That it be declared, That every man hath a right to petition the legislature for the Redress of Grievances,

[70] In Paca Papers, Portfolio 13, No. 44, Maryland Historical Sociey. Addressed to John P. Paca from Rose Hill, Feb. 19, 1827).

[71] Quoted by Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

[72] *Maryland Journal*, Baltimore, April 29, 1788.

in a peaceable and orderly Manner—That in all criminal Prosecutions every man hath a Right to be informed of the Accusation, to have a Copy of the Indictment or charge in due Time (if required) to prepare for his Defense, to be allowed Council, to be confronted with the Witness against him, to have Process for his Witnesses, to examine the Witnesses for and against him on Oath, and to a speedy trial by an impartial Jury.

That no Freeman ought to be taken, or imprisoned, or deprived of his Freehold, Liberties and Privileges, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his Life, Liberty or Property, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the law of the Land.

That no power of Suspending Laws, or the execution of Laws, unless derived from the Legislature, ought to be exercised or allowed.

That all Warrants, without Oath, or Affirmation of a Person conscientiously scrupulous of taking an Oath, to search suspected Places, to seize any Person, or his Property, are grievous and oppressive; and all general Warrants, to search suspected Places, or to apprehend any Person suspected, without describing the Place or Person in special, are dangerous and ought not to be granted.

That there be no appeal to the Supreme Court of Congress in a Criminal Case. Congress shall have no Power to alter or change the Regulations respecting the Times, Places or Manner of holding Elections for Senators or Representatives.

All Imports and Duties laid by Congress, shall be placed to the Credit of the State in which the same shall be collected, and shall be deducted out of such State's Quota of the Common or general Expences of Government. No Member of Congress shall be eligible to any Office of Trust or Profit under Congress during the Time for which he shall be chosen.

That there be no National Religion established by Law but that all persons be equally entitled to protection in their religious Liberty.

That Congress shall not lay direct Taxes on Land or other Property without a previous Requisition of the respective Quotas of the States and a failing within a limited time to comply therewith.

In all cases of Trespasses, Torts, Abuses of Power, personal Wrongs and Injuries done on Land or within the Body of a County the Party Injured shall be entitled to Trial by Jury, in the State where the Offence shall be committed; and the State Courts in such cases shall have concurrent Jurisdiction within the Federal Courts; and there shall be no Appeal, excepting in Matters of Law.

That the Supreme Federal Court shall not admit of Fictions, to extend its Jurisdiction; nor shall Citizens of the same State having Controversies with each other be suffered to make collusive Assignments of their Rights, to Citizens of another State for the Purpose of defeating the Jurisdiction of the State Courts; nor shall any matter or Question already determined in the State Courts, be revived or agitated in the Federal Courts; that there be no appeal from Law or Fact to the Supreme Court where the claim or Demand does not exceed three hundred pounds sterling. That no Standing Army shall be kept up in Time of Peace unless with the Consent of Three Fourths of the Members of each Branch of Congress;

Nor shall Soldiers in Time of Peace be quartered upon private Houses, without the Consent of the Owners.

No Law of Congress or Treaties shall be effectual to repeal or abrogate the Constitutions or Bills of Rights of the States or any of them or any part of the said Constitutions or Bills of Rights.

Militia not to be subject to the Rules of Congress nor marched out of the State without consent of the Legislature of each State.

That Congress have no Power to lay a Poll Tax.

That the People have a Right to Freedom of Speech, of writing and publishing their Sentiments and therefore that the Freedom of the Press ought not to be restrained and the Printing Presses ought to be free to examine the Proceedings of Government, and the Conduct of its Officers.

That Congress shall exercise no Power but what is expressly delegated by this Constitution.

That the President shall not command the Army, in Person, without the Consent of Congress.

READING INTERESTS OF MARYLAND PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS, 1700-1776

By Joseph Towne Wheeler

Since the majority of the population in the colony was composed of planters and small farmers, the study of their reading interests should be particularly significant in a survey of literary culture. It is difficult to generalize about the private book collections because, as has already been pointed out, approximately sixty percent of the inventories analysed contained books, but about three-quarters of this number included less than ten volumes or a parcel of books, and almost one-fifth contained only the Bible or a Common Prayer Book. In many cases the actual titles of the books were not specified. Each library varied with the personality and interests of its owner, and thus each presents a different problem. A subject analysis of larger libraries, revealed that religion was the most popular subject. Law and history, biography and travel were close seconds.[1] The smaller libraries tended to have a larger percentage of religious books.

Ownership of books does not necessarily mean that they were read. This qualification must, of course, be kept in mind in drawing conclusions from books listed in inventories. In studying the sources of Jefferson's thought, Dr. Chinard minimized the importance of the catalog of his second library, saying that " it is so extensive as to be practically useless." [2] Fortunately, he had access to Jefferson's commonplace books from which he could make much more accurate deductions.

In the absence of a series of commonplace books from which a detailed knowledge of the literary taste of their compilers may be gleaned, personal letters containing literary references are a good substitute. Fortunately the letters of several merchants and planters have been preserved. They reveal much more vividly than the inventories the vital part which books played in the lives of the educated colonists.

[1] Joseph T. Wheeler, " Books Owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 341.
[2] Gilbert Chinard, *The Literary Bible of Thomas Jefferson* (1928).

Henry Callister

Interest in books in eighteenth century Maryland was not limited to any one class or professional group. As an illustration of this point, it is indeed fortunate that there have been preserved the letterbooks of a man who came to the colony under articles of indenture and who died in poverty and obscurity.[3] Henry Callister (1716?-1765?) was born on the Isle of Man and spent several years in the Liverpool counting house of Foster Cunliffe and Sons. His employers were apparently impressed with his business ability and sent him to Oxford, on the Eastern Shore, where their store was located. There he was to serve under Robert Morris, one of the most successful colonial tobacco factors.[4] Too often books are identified with a quiet, meditative life; however, there are occasions when reading and books have become an outstanding landmark in a human life. Such was the case with Robert Morris several years after Henry Callister began to work for him at the Oxford store.

Robert Morris, chief factor in Maryland of the house of Foster Cunliffe and Sons of Liverpool, was recognized by his contemporaries as a model of a self-made business man who had risen to his successful position solely on his own merits. His neighbors, and particularly his servants, who tolerated his haughty and overbearing manner as a mere eccentricity of a great man, must have been surprised indeed when this practical merchant announced one summer morning that he had dreamed that on that day he would be fatally injured by a cannon fired on a homeward-bound tobacco ship. When he went on board the Cunliffe vessel for the customary banquet and toasts which preceded the weighing of the anchor, he told the captain of his forebodings and asked that the usual salute be omitted. But the captain persuaded him that his fears were groundless. He did, however, promise not to fire the gun until Morris's boat was far enough away from the vessel so no damage could be done.

[3] Henry Callister's letterbooks remained after the death of his wife at "Myrtle Grove" in Talbot County until Dr. Ethan Allen learned of them. He gave them to the Maryland Diocesan Library. In 1911 Lawrence C. Wroth used them for "A Maryland Merchant and his Friends in 1750," published in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* VI, 213-240. They were used again by Beta Kaessmann in 1931. Since then they have peen photostated and are available for scholars without the danger of further crumbling and loss.

[4] The inventory of the personal library of Robert Morris will be published in a subsequent article on "Recreational Activities of Marylanders."

There are various stories as to how the gun happened to be fired. Some writers believe the movement of the captain's hand in brushing a fly off his nose was mistaken by the gunner as his signal; others showing greater imagination say that a lady in the boat with Morris dropped her handkerchief and this was taken as a signal; but all writers seem to agree that probably the accident would not have occurred if the captain had been less generous with his rum. At any rate the gun was fired, and the wadding struck Morris's arm and inflicted a dangerous wound from which he died several days later.[5]

Before Morris died, Henry Callister, his assistant and successor, tried to console him on his death-bed. Many years later Callister wrote Robert Morris, the tobacco factor's son, known to later generations as the financier of the Revolution:

> You are perhaps yet too young to read lessons of mortality. I shall not plague you with them. I shall only tell you that I was the last that heard him speak (for I make no account of two or three old women in the chamber). At his request, I read him Plato's *Phaedo*, with which he was extreamly pleased, and I am confident he died with less pain than he would have done without that.[6]

At first Callister did not like his newly adopted home and wrote back to a friend that the colony had once been " an immense forest, full of vermin of various sorts and sizes " to which European merchants had added " a new brood of Vermin which they Duly Keep the Country supplied with, viz. Cats, Dogs, Negroes and Convicts." Fortunately he could play the violin and the flute and thus could spend his leisure hours entertaining himself and his friends. When his supply of fiddle strings was exhausted he asked his friend, Bobby Whitfield in Liverpool, to send new ones and gave him a plug of Maryland tobacco in exchange. He was very generous with his music books and loaned them out to acquaintances in the colony. Often he found it difficult to get them back. He asked a friend in Philadelphia to get a bound volume of music he had loaned to Dr. Shepherd:

> . . . the Book I chiefly want contains select pieces I have myself with some pains collected w^{ch} has render'd them the more agreeable to me, as I have other Collections with references to those pieces or parts of Concerts, wth compleat Setts of Musick by Diffnt. hands, I wd sooner part with the whole Works of Corelli than lose it.[7]

[5] See W. F. Boogher's *Miscellaneous Americana* (1883-1895), pp. 45-52.
[6] Henry Callister letterbook, HC to Robert Morris, 17 Dec. 1764.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 3, HC to Geo. Oill, 1 May 1744.

Friend Whitfield sent him the music he wanted from Liverpool. A few months later Callister wrote for several dozen maps including those of England, Ireland, Maryland and the World for sale at the store and asked him for some music for his own use:

I want Allan Ramsay's Songs, which your Friend the Bookseller may get you, I want the compleat sett of Musick & all the songs I suppose will be in one small Volume & the Airs in 2 or 3 small Octavos or 12m. . . .[8]

He was careful to keep in the good graces of his friends in England and on the Isle of Man by sending them descriptions of the colony, various natural history objects and especially seeds which, unlike the stuffed birds and potted plants he sent, would not spoil on the long ocean voyage. In 1744, he sent his brother and Bobby Whitfield copies of the *Treaty held with the Indians of the Six Nations, at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, in June, 1744.* Apparently he was not able to get copies from his Philadelphia bookseller before the vessel sailed to England with the mail, so he ordered them of Jonas Green at Annapolis. In his letter to his brother he explained the reason for the delay:

I wrote to you in my last that I shd send you our Treaty with the Indians, it wd have been something pleasant to see their Speeches, &c. but I cannot yet get it from Philadelphia . . . I have sent to Annapolis for them, if they come in time I shall send them to you.

In the postscript, written after his messenger had arrived from Annapolis, he added:

I have sent you inclosed a Treaty lately concluded with the Indians which will give you some Insight into the Genius of those people we brutishly call savages—I hope it will be entertaining to you and your friends.[9]

Doubtless his friends enjoyed the little book containing the clear-cut oratory of the Indians taken down by their English interpreters. The *Gentlemen's Magazine* rendered high praise to the speeches at the Albany Congress, stating that they " contain not only the Sense of the Indians on our State of Affairs there, but some Strains of native eloquence which might have done Honour to Tully or Demosthenes." [10]

[8] *Ibid.*, 23, HC to R. Whitfield, 13 Aug. 1744. The collection he asked for may have been Ramsay's *New Miscellany of Scots Songs* (London, 1727), or *Tea-Table Miscellany, or A Collection of Choice Songs, Scots and English* (London, 1740).

[9] *Ibid.*, I, 28, HC to his brother, 25 Nov. 1744.

[10] *Gentlemen's Magazine*, June 1755, p. 252. Quoted from L. C. Wroth, *An American Bookshelf, 1755* (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 97, which also contains Callister's remarks as well as an interesting discussion of the literary merits of the treaties.

A further indication of the interest which Europeans had in the American Indian is shown by the fact that William Strahan, the English bookseller, bought two hundred copies of the Philadelphia edition from Franklin to sell in London.[11] This treaty was indeed one of the few colonial products of distinctive literary merit.

Not long after Callister's arrival in Maryland, the aged Reverend Daniel Maynadier, rector of St. Peter's in Talbot County, dismissed his unworthy curate and sent to England for a successor. Shortly thereafter the Reverend Thomas Bacon accepted this position and settled at Oxford. A friendship soon ripened between the two lovers of music and literature.[12] In writing to his friend, Billy Tear, who lived on the Isle of Man, where Bacon was born, about Maryland fiddlers, Callister mentioned his pleasure in having an experienced musician with a good collection of music in the neighborhood:

I have had the pleasure of playing a Tune with Billy Stephens—he has lost a great deal of his Music Capacity, however his performance was found sufficient to ravish & surprise some of our best top Men! You must know we abound in Fidlers but most wretched ones they are—Some of the better sort have a little of the true taste, but they are content if they exceed the Vulgar in that, & seldom get any further. I shall give you at foot a Specimen of the Musick that is most relish'd here [at the foot of the page he wrote " Chicomocomoco & Johnny Boy "] as to other English tunes, they murther them here ten times worse than the Country fidlers in the Island, it is however diverting to hear how they do it. I should have pass'd for a tip top Musician if the Rev'd Mr Bacon had not come in, he handed me your Letter & some others from Douglass, immediately upon landing he found the way to our house. . . . His performance on the Violin & Violincello have afforded us much delight & his Conversation as much. I have a pretty sett of Musick & he has a still better.[13]

Callister and Bacon corresponded with each other and freely exchanged their books and music. Not long after Bacon's arrival, Callister wrote for a beginner's music book and Bacon replied:

I have sent you Simpson's Compendium [Christopher Simpson's *The Principles of Practical Musick delivered in a . . . new method for the*

[11] Henry F. DePuy, *Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indian*, No. 22.

[12] For the inventory of Bacon's personal library see " Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland, 1700-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (1941), 189-192.

[13] Henry Callister letterbook, I, 47, HC to Wm. Tear, 5 Nov. 1745.

instruction of beginners either in singing or playing upon instruments] which you will find easy & at the same time full enough for any young Student in Composition.[14]

Bacon, in turn, asked for a great variety of articles which Callister had in the store, including a composition book, writing paper, flour when his wife's supply was exhausted, a " Book of Songs " and a little chewing tobacco.

Through the Rev. Thomas Bacon, Callister became acquainted with his brother, Anthony Bacon, a successful London merchant. Henceforth, he ordered most of his personal goods from him. In addition to his salary, Callister had the privilege of sending four hogsheads of tobacco freight free in the Cunliffe vessels. These he turned over to Anthony Bacon for disposal at the highest rates, and with the profits he purchased clothes, books and music. After his marriage to Sally Trippe in 1748, most of this money was used in buying gold rings, fans, ear pendants and other trifles, and he was fortunate indeed if there was enough credit left from his annual shipment to purchase a few books for himself.

In writing to Anthony Bacon for the first time in 1744, he ordered three dozen " entertaining History Books &c sorted," leaving the choice of the titles to Bacon's discretion.[15] His next order was for " The most Authentick History of Thomas Kouli-Kan." [16] The following year he sent for a larger collection of books:

Present State of the English Eniquire [?] in America
Present State of Louisiana [17]
Compleat History of Spanish America, J. Stagg Westminster Hall, and Dr. Brown without Temple bar
Travells into the inland parts of Africk, by Fr. Moore, E. Cave
Description of Greenland by Hans Egede, C. Aitch, Patr Nostr Row
Philosophes the greatest Cheat
Philosophical Amusement on the language of the Beasts, T. Cooper
Sr. Isaac Newton on the Prophecies of Daniel & the Revelations
Heaven open to all Men, J. Robinson at (sign) goldn Lion
New Musical Grammar Do
New sett of Palm Tunes & Anthems W. Sanby [?]
Ames des Betes, Recreations Literaires, Recreations mathematiques
French books of element. language on good subjects
True born English Man, a Pamphlet

[14] *Ibid.*, 53, Thomas Bacon to HC, 28 Jan. 1746.
[15] *Ibid.*, 30 HC to Anthony Bacon, 11 Feb. 1744.
[16] *Ibid.*, 55, HC to Anthony Bacon, 10 Apr. 1746.
[17] *The Present State of the Country and Inhabitants, Europeans and Indians, of Louisiana* (London, 1745).

Some Booksellers' Catalogues
The two latest Gentl Magazines [18]

Soon after this he wrote for " a 4 sheet Map of North America, Thos Jeffries London," by which he probably meant the large chart of North and South America showing the navigable parts of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, published by Thomas Jefferys in 1753.[19] He also asked for two or three latest magazines and " some good little Books of taste fit to improve a young Genius." [20] This reference was to his son who, unfortunately, died before he could enjoy the books his father had bought for him.

He directed Anthony Bacon to send the *Universal Magazine* and the *Gentlemen's Magazine* regularly, as well as certain titles which he had seen mentioned in the magazines or booksellers' catalogues. He was particularly interested in getting a copy of Savary des Bruslon's *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce, Translated from the French*, London, 1751-55.

Soon after their marriage, Callister and his wife ordered their silver from Bacon. Most of their home furnishings, like those of other middle-class colonists, came from England:

I Dozen fine colour'd Cuts or Perspective Views fit for the Concave Mirror of any good Prospects except the following which I have—London Liverpool Constantinople Venice Florence the Welch mountain prospects Twickenham inside Views of churches Wallestein Versailles fireworks Greenwich St. Jahner Windsor the Temple or any other views of London Chester Deanse Castle [?] Conway Castle. But if these fall in your way let's have 'em—viz. Edinburgh Glasgow Dublin Paris Cadiz Genowa Gibraltar Madrid Sont on [?] Rochelle Rochfort Bourdeaux Amsterdam & in failure of these, any other you like to make out the Dozen.[21]

By this time Callister had assembled a fairly large library which he loaned to his friends in return for similar favors from them. Like most people who are generous with their books, he discovered that he was gradually losing some of his choice volumes. In order to remind those who borrowed his books that he wanted them back, he had a bookplate engraved and printed in England. In 1751 he ordered it of Anthony Bacon:

Lastly a Plate of my Arms of a size fit to stick to the inside of Book Covers, with the Motto of the House in a Streamer under or over the Arms, or for

[18] Henry Callister letterbook, I, 111, HC to Anthony Bacon, 21 Oct. 1749.
[19] P. L. Phillips, *A List of Maps of America in the Library of Congress*, p. 109.
[20] Henry Callister letterbook, I, 144, HC to C. Craven, 12 Nov. 1749.
[21] *Ibid.*, 183, HC to Anthony Bacon, [?] 15 July 1751.

want of the motto, the Name Callister; or rather the Name in some part of the Plate, whether there by a motto or no, as that is most essential to the chief purpose, vz to recover one's Books when lent out. When this is done you may get a Couple of hundred Tickets printed with this Plate upon fine Paper of the size of the smallest twelves 50. Octavo 50. Quarto 50 Folio 50.[22]

Unfortunately, no copy of this bookplate has as yet been located. No doubt other Maryland colonists used bookplates to identify their property but few of these early bookplates have been found in a search of modern Maryland libraries.

Rev. Thomas Bacon started his compilation of the laws of Maryland about 1753, and completed the work in 1758, although it was not published until 1766 after many delays and much hardship on his part. Soon after he began the ambitious project and before his temper had been soured by this thankless task, he wrote a long epistle in verse to Callister which he claimed was "A Letter Originally wrote Three Thousand Years ago by that Famous Laughing Sage & Philosopher, Democritus to a friend of his at Aulis. Translated from the Greek Language." In it he mentioned his editorial work on the Maryland laws:

> If E'er the Senate shall think fit,
> To Try his Vast Extent of Wit:
> By giving him their Acts to collate,
> Curtail, Discuss, or Interpolate,
> Just as his Wisdom shall think Meet,
> In Every mangled, murdered Sheet:
> Which when he's gather'd in one volume,
> He'll Rich Deserve a Copper Column,
> On which should be engrav'd in Gross:
> Optat Ephippie Piger Bos!
> Whence 'Twould appear in after ages
> How wise were our Provincial Sages;
> To let a Supercilious Doctor
> Who spite of Nature'd be a Proctor,
> (Instead of what might well Employ them:)
> Revise their Acts and Quite Destroy them.[23]

In the same letter he informed Callister that he had finished Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* (1747-8) and was returning it through a friend:

[22] *Loc. cit.*
[23] Henry Callister letterbook, I, 190, Thomas Bacon to HC, n. d.

Charles to Henry, sendeth greeting,
Dear Sir, And so forth as is Fitting,
I wish we had a Merry Meeting.
I've sent your Miss Clarissa Harlot,
Pox take me for a Blundering Varlet!
Harlow, I mean in Seven Books,
Of Pyeons Use for Pastry Cooks:
To Captain Hoper's I have sent them,
With Thanks from those to whom you lent them . . .[24]

Scarcity of ready money, poor crops and the ever present threat of the seizure of vessels during the latter part of the Seven Years' War made it difficult for English merchants to carry on a profitable business in the colony. As a result, the House of Foster Cunliffe and Sons decided to withdraw from their Eastern Shore connections in 1760. Callister was by this time their chief agent in the district, and upon him fell the manifold responsibilities of bringing their affairs to an end. He took over the store at Townside on the Chester River and decided to go into business for himself. Unfortunately, he invested his capital at the wrong time. Tobacco prices, instead of going up as he hoped, fell so low that many planters gave up raising the crop and turned to wheat. When he was unable to pay his debts in London, his old friend Anthony Bacon refused to give him further credit, and therefore seriously damaged his credit-standing in the colony. It was adding insult to injury for Bacon to write that he would have sent part of the order as a courtesy, but that he did not think to have done so would have been a favor. Callister retorted:

Those who think so should have less experience than my old friend Mr. Bacon, who had lived so long among us, who must know too, to what a Degree so compleat a slight must affect the reputation of a merchant in this country. . . .[25]

He added that Bacon might at least have sent him the merchandise he needed for his own personal use: "But you have not even excepted a few favorite articles, as books &c."

From that time until the end of his career, Callister gradually became enmeshed in financial difficulties which changed him from a carefree and happy merchant to an embittered old man, ready to resent every supposed slight and suspicious even of his friends.

[24] *Ibid.*, 189, Thomas Bacon to HC, n. d.
[25] *Ibid.*, II, 458, HC to Anthony Bacon, 11 Oct. 1761.

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When his friend Thomas Bacon left Oxford to take over his duties as rector of All Saints Parish in Frederick County, Callister gradually lost interest in music and turned down invitations to attend concerts given by his friends. His main recreation in his leisure hours was derived from his books. Fortunately, through his business relations he became well acquainted with William Carmichael, who lived near Chestertown and shared in his appreciation of books. This prosperous planter came to Maryland as a Scotch immigrant and married into the Brooke family, from whom he inherited valuable property. Carmichael apparently thought a great deal of Callister, for in 1762 he sent his son to live at the store and there to learn first-hand the intricacies of trade and business. It is possible that this son was none other than William Carmichael, friend of Washington and Lafayette and popular American chargé d'affaires in Spain during the difficult years from 1782 to 1794. In replying to a relative who heard that young Carmichael was about to be sent to England to complete his education and who wanted to have his son educated in Callister's counting house, he gave as an inducement: " He will be happy in his entertainment, if the most valuable books delight him, and you may be assured his Cousin will be most attentive to his well being. . . . " [26]

One of the earliest references to the reading interests of the elder Carmichael was the letter he sent with a copy of William Warburton's *View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy in Four Letters to a Friend* (1754-5). The author, Bishop Warburton, was the literary executor of Pope and a bitter enemy of Lord Bolingbroke:

> I send herewith Warburton's View, a Book Mr. Carmichael desired to have. I had told him I had sent for one from London & that I could spare him that I had from Philadelphia, but the latter has by this time pass'd through so many hands here that it is most abused, wherefore I send him the new one at the price the old one cost me 14/6 curr^{y} which he will have me credit with for. . . . [27]

Soon after young Carmichael left for his education abroad, Callister and his father got into a dispute which threatened to bring their friendship to an end. By some mistake in his mathematics, Callister overcharged the thrifty Scot for binding some back numbers of the *Critical Review* which had been done in England. Cal-

[26] *Ibid.*, III, 539, HC to Mr. Hindman, 16 July 1762.
[27] *Ibid.*, II, 267, HC to Mr. Ealiston [?], n. d.

lister apologized for his error and ended his letter with the hope that their friendship would continue:

> Let our future debates be about our opinion of books, authors & the opinion of others. As to what books I have, you may be easy about the price of them, you may have the reading of them without price.[28]

With the letter he sent a copy of Admiral Antonio de Ulloa's *Voyage to South America . . . Translated from the Original Spanish*, London, 1758. In his next letter Callister referred to their former altercation and sent a few more books for his friend to read in his leisure time:

> Your love of Literature has at length got the better of your obstinacy: for I dont find my way of reasoning had any affect but to bring Mahomet a little nigher the Mountain. I did not add California to the Books, because the Jesuitical subject seem'd too dry to you: The history is however a matter of consequence, & in time will be consequentially so. The Reviewers indeed, you will find, like it better than you or I.[29]

The book about California which he omitted was probably Miguel Venegaz's *Natural and Civil History of California, . . . Translated from the Original Spanish*, London, 1759.

The great popularity of Richard Burn's *Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer* has been mentioned in the discussion of the inventories.[30] Callister owned a copy which was in such demand among his friends that they had to reserve it in advance. In reply to Carmichael's request to see it he said:

> Mr. Hall had engaged Burn a good while ago, and he now has it. There is a new edition with amendments to be had in Philadelphia, price 30/, which will be better for you: they are in 3 Voll.[31]

The Mr. Hall who was reading Callister's copy was Jonathan Hall, a justice of the peace in Queen Anne's County, to whom Callister offered to sell his choicest possessions the following year when he was practically reduced to insolvency. Among the articles were a parcel of pictures with and without frames, perhaps the very same collection he had imported from Anthony Bacon many years before, and " several good Books, & a new Bookcase several

[28] *Ibid.*, III, 556, HC to Carmichael, 24 Aug. 1762.
[29] *Ibid.*, 596, HC to Carmichael, 26 Sept. 1762.
[30] " Books Owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 345-6.
[31] Henry Callister letterbook, III, HC to Carmichael, 13 Dec. 1762.

musical Instruments, a noble Universal Microscope & a botanie thermometer." [32]

When his overseer became surly and difficult to manage and on one occasion even came into the house with a club in his hand threatening his wife and family, Callister asked Justice of the Peace Hall to have him bound over to the peace according to the law which he would find clearly stated in Burn's *Justice.* Callister apparently leaned heavily on Burn's *Justice* for he referred to it again when he was engaged in a dispute over repairing the highway near his land. He also reinforced his arguments this time by citing a similar passage from Giles Jacob's *Every Man His Own Lawyer; or, a Summary of the Laws of England.*

He was still interested in history and had purchased a copy of Smollett's *History of England* soon after publication, although his set was not in sheets as was that of James Bisett of Baltimore County.[33] After finishing the book, he loaned it to a friend, but soon found that he had to write for it in order to get it for another friend:

> Having promised to lend to Dr. Seels Smollet's history; upon looking for it, I find the 2d volume missing, which I presume to be in your hands. Undoubtedly you have gone through it; you'll please to send it me by the Bearer . . . I have lost a considerable number of books by lending; I have more of them abused; I have now bought a costly case to preserve the remainder from injury.[34]

Evidence of the frequent exchange of books among readers on the Eastern Shore is found throughout Callister's letterbooks. His copy of Montaigne's *Essays* was in almost constant demand. He sent two volumes of it to Carmichael and reported that the third volume was still in use by another friend: " I send you two Voll. of Montagne's Essays, one is abroad, you shall have it when I get it; I have no notion of parting with that or the Mags." [35]

In 1766 Carmichael loaned him a set of *The North Briton* (1762-3), which he liked, although he did not entirely approve of John Wilkes' " low wit." His remarks on the political situation in England are an interesting sidelight on colonial opinion of the Bute ministry:

[32] *Ibid.*, 612, HC to Jonathan Hall, 14 Feb. 1763.
[33] " Books Owned by Marylanders, 1700-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXV (1940), 347.
[34] Henry Callister letterbook, III, 603, HC to James Robberts, 12 Dec. 1762.
[35] *Ibid.*, IV, 659, HC to Carmichael, 19 July 1763.

The N. Briton is stuffed with a deal of low wit: however there is much solid reasoning in him, and his punelous [?] temper is therein most agreeable enough to that of the people of England; if the present Ministry do not give way with a good grace, I apprehend there will be bad doings indeed, where England, Scotland, Ireland and America will probably be intangled—If a civil war should break out, France will have a hand in it, and it may produce another revolution which God avert We cannot except a better than the last.[36]

A few weeks later he returned the second volume of *The North Briton* with some pamphlets he had borrowed. He also returned a copy of Jethro Tull's *Horse-Hoing Husbandry: or, an Essay on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation* (1733-40). Carmichael probably sent Callister this book by " the father of modern husbandry " because he had heard that the bankrupt merchant was planning to become a farmer.[37]

Callister was interested in the natural history of the colony, particularly the botany and bird life. In 1746 he wrote to England to have a cage especially made in which he could keep a humming bird, and in the following year he wrote to tell Billy Tear that:

. . . I have a fine humming bird in a Cage & he feeds finely upon honey sugar and rose water, but if I part with him he'll not live 24 hours, I'm sure; he feeds always on the wing & sucks like a butterfly, his rough tongue serves him as the long string of a butterfly to lick the farina out of the flowers.[38]

His efforts to send live birds and flying squirrels to England were fruitless because invariably the cabin boy forgot to give them food and water, or they died in captivity. He wrote several long letters describing the birds and animals of the colony and frequently cited similar species which he found listed in natural history books, but, unfortunately, he did not mention the titles he consulted.

In addition to getting rid of his collection of musical instruments, he was forced to sell his scientific books and instruments. He owned a copy of Pitton de Tournefort's *History of Plants Growing about Paris, With Their Use in Physick,* London, 1732, which he offered to sell to Dr. Leith in 1765:

I have a small posthumous work of Tournefort, which is a good appendix to the first, as it gives the description & use of plants in medicine, with

[36] *Ibid.*, 764, HC to Carmichael, 6 Jan. 1766.
[37] *Ibid.*, 769, HC to Carmichael, 26 Jan. 1766.
[38] *Ibid.*, I, 100, HC to Billy Tear, 23 Aug. 1747.

their chymical analysis; it is an 2v.12° worth 12/6 Currency. I shall send it if you like. I would now, as it might be return'd if not wanted, but there are a few things in it which I would read first.[39]

One of his choice possessions was the two-volume collection of *Figures of the Most Beautiful, Useful, and Uncommon Plants Described in the Gardener's Dictionary,* which was published from 1755 to 1760, in folio. The illustrations were done by Philip Miller, the noted eighteenth century gardener and botanist. The Rev. John Barclay heard that Callister had the collection and, knowing that Governor Sharpe owned the *Dictionary* itself, mentioned the fact that he wanted to sell the illustrations. At Barclay's suggestion Callister wrote the Governor, offering the plates for £15 Maryland Currency which he said was the actual cost:

Barclay favoured me with the intimation of your Excellencies willingness to take off my hands Miller's Cuts. I have accordingly packed them up and deliver'd them to him. You will find inclosed an account of the nett prime cost. As your excellency is possessed of the Dictionary in folio, in which Mr. Millers Design was to adapt those cuts, they will be curious illustrations of his subject. But I have reason to think this was not his motive; your beneficence is seen in your laying hold of the occasion to ease me of a burthensome article; for the piece is indeed costly, and your taste seems to run rather on improvements in agriculture than mere entertainment in botany and natural history. For this I sincerely thank your Excellency.[40]

A week or so after this Barclay called at Callister's home and took with him the illustrations and said that the Governor also wanted to buy his universal microscope. Callister had in an earlier letter described it in glowing terms: " I wish I had an opportunity of showing you the exalted Entertainment it affords the Philosopher, and the Christian of common sense." [41] With the microscope he sent his thermometer which was specially designed for botanical work:

Yours of the 8th from Hopper's was handed me last night in my bed, so that you were again too quick for me. If you have carried the Cuts to the Governor, I presume he will keep them as a necessary appendix to the folio Dictionary, as well to decorate as to illustrate it. However his Excellency does not need to purchase them; but keep them as long as he pleases, and return them when he pleases. You will receive the microscope with this, together with all the Apparatus. I also send Adams' Micrographia

[39] *Ibid.*, IV, 716, HC to Dr. Leith, 2 April 1765.
[40] *Ibid.*, 691, HC to the Governor, 9 Nov. 1764.
[41] *Ibid.*, 691, HC to Rev. John Barclay, n. d.

illustrated, which will be necessary to his Excellency for some time, to explain the use of the several microscopes & parts in the box. The book belongs to my good friend the Revd Mr. Bacon with whom I have formerly had some littaral communications. He needs not be in a hurry to return it to Mr. Bacon; who, not having the Machine, can have no use for the book. I had not thought of the botanic thermometer at the time I first mention'd the Microscope; but as his Excellency has a green-house, and ought to have a hotbed frame, he cannot well dispense with so necessary an instrument for regulating the warmth of each, for raising exotica, as well as for other curious purposes.[42]

In an effort to make a living for himself and his family, Callister conceived the unusual idea of becoming a wholesale distributor for the botanic curiosities of the New World. He wrote a friend in England of his visionary project:

Thus the last three years have passed heaving over my head, and no relief, but a worse prospect in view. You may well Judge I have little attention to afford the gratification of your friends curiosity for seeds of Maryland plants. I have thought of making a Collection in the course of the next year. I have seen a paragraph in the Scot's Magazine for 1764 that seems to animate and revive my Thoughts of the matter and rather as I do not know of any other person in this province very capable of giving much satisfaction in this point but I am at a loss for a list of the species that are most in request, so as to make out proper assortments; otherwise one might so overstock the market that would not pay freight. For example, I might collect a bushel or two of Ceanuts [?] and cedar berries; as many barrels of Walnuts, and as many tons of Pine cones; and all these being perhaps well established in Britain, I might get involved rather than indemnified for labour & cost. They mention the necessity of an assorted catalogue; but I have seen none.[43]

He might have been successful if, like John Bartram of Pennsylvania, he had had a friend and patron such as Peter Collinson, but to attempt to furnish seeds and nuts to unknown correspondents in England was indeed an impractical plan. There is no evidence that he ever seriously tried to put this project in effect, but doubtless he continued to supply his friends.

The Callister letterbook ends at this point, and no record has been found of his subsequent career. After his death, his widow and her daughters taught school at Chestertown under the direction of Dr. William Smith and, about 1783, they started a " school for Misses " in Baltimore. They found it hard to make ends meet,

[42] *Ibid.*, 694, HC to Rev. John Barclay, 16 Nov. 1764.
[43] *Ibid.*, 749, HC to Mr. Glassell, 10 Nov. 1765.

so in 1785 they drew up a list of books which they offered for sale, probably through the local printers. Most of the volumes had belonged to Henry Callister, so that in the absence of an inventory of his estate, it affords the only considerable view of his library: [44]

20 Volls. Universal Magazines
3 Volls. Fieldings Works
A Latin & English Ovids Metamorphoses
Elements—or "the Art of essaying Metals"
Bisset's Laws of Maryland
Latin & English Dictionary
Statutes made in Great Britain & Ireland or, a Book of Rates
Oservations on the Antiquities of Herculaneum
History of China (old)
First Voll. on the English Nation,
Abbe le Blom
Edinburgh Magazine for 1760
4 Volls. Nature Delineated
6 Volls. Moliere's Comedys
2 Volls. Independent Whig
2 Volls. Deism Revealed
First Vol. Ovids Metamorphoses
Micromejas—a Detail of the Crusades
10 Vol. Swifts Works (dissorted)
Human Prudence
Hudibras — Town & Country Magazine
A Methodical Treatise Concerning Bills of Exchange
A discourse on the late [?] Funds
Volls. Taslen [?]
Cradocks Version of Psalms
1 Vol. Tom Jones
1 Vol. Adventures
Goldsmiths Essays
First Volm Adventures of a Guinea
Second Vol. Peregrine Pickel
Life of Alexander Pope
Version of Psalms by Mather & Wells N. England 1640

Annual Register for 1778. 5 old
School Books Latin—Eng.

The most notable item on this list is the copy of the *Massachusetts Bay Psalm Book,* the first book to be printed in English America. It is easy to understand how Callister might have bought a copy of Rev. Thomas Cradock's *New Version of the Psalms of David,* printed by Jonas Green in 1756, but it must remain an unsolved mystery how he stumbled upon that bibliographical treasure.[45]

(*To be concluded*)

[44] *Ibid.*, 866. No date, but among papers of Mrs. Callister's school.

[45] Wilberforce Eames's last list giving location and provenance of known copies of the first edition of the *Bay Psalm Book* does not contain reference to Callister's copy. *Colophon*, n. s. II (Winter 1937), 283-4. However, there is no evidence to indicate that Callister owned the first edition. It seems more likely his was a later edition.

BALTIMORE STEAMBOATS IN THE CIVIL WAR *

By William J. Kelley

Probably no other city during the War between the States saw greater steamboat activity than Baltimore. While the city was not the scene of combat between opposing troops, it was the seat of continuous operations of steamboats by the Union forces. Because of its nearness to the areas of war operations, Baltimore probably furnished more of such craft, in proportion to her registry of them, than any of the ports to the north. Here there were a number of successfully established steamboat lines. At Locust Point the Union developed a great depot for the concentration and distribution of war supplies—an area so congested at times that vessels had to remain at anchor awaiting their turns at the piers. Steamboats crowded the numerous and active shipyards, either building for the Union or being overhauled after rough usage in the Potomac and Hampton Roads and in the campaigns along the coasts of the states lying to the southward, for which these erstwhile media of commerce and good will were converted into transports, blockaders and gunboats.

While the newspapers occasionally mentioned the number and names of strange steamers in the harbor, the port's own familiar steamboats were watched by the Baltimorean with extraordinary interest, no matter on which side his sympathies lay. One can imagine the interest aroused when popular excursion and bay steamers of that day were utilized in a war right under the city's nose. Their movements, their injury and damage, their successes and losses, engaged the attention of citizens as never before. The Chesapeake was the broad highway, and steamboats were high in public favor and interest. They brought glamor and romance to the port. The war greatly enhanced this interest. To some of these popular craft it brought renown.

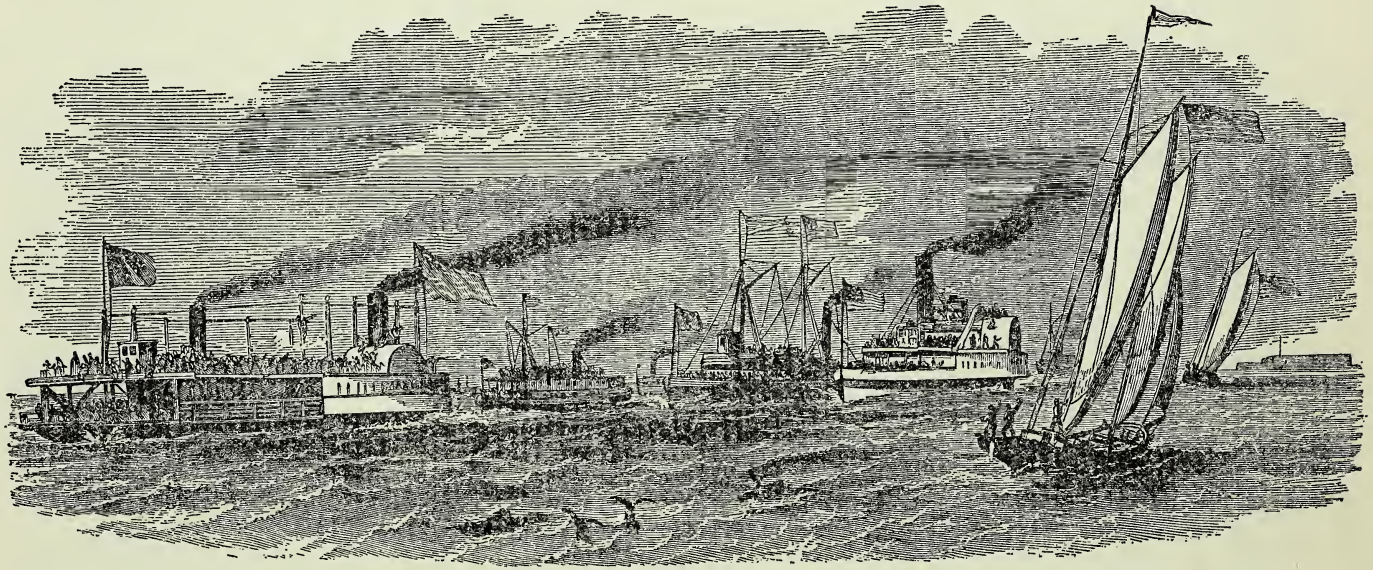
The most widely known operating companies at the outbreak of civil strife were the Baltimore Steam Packet Company, familiarly called the Old Bay Line, and the Weems Line, the oldest of all. The latter began as early as 1817 with the Baltimore

* Sources for this account were the navigation records in the Baltimore custom house and newspapers of Maryland and Virginia.

built steamer *Antelope,* later called *Surprise.* Other important lines were the Merchants & Miners Transportation Co., the Eastern Shore Steamboat Co., the Individual Enterprise Co., the Powhatan Steamboat Co. and Slaughter's Line to the Eastern Shore. There were, as well, lines to Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond, and New York. A number of companies operated independently, some with but a single steamer owned and run by her master. Only two lines which saw service in the war are operating today—the Old Bay Line and the Merchants and Miners Transportation Co. The former recently celebrated its one hundreth year of continuous service, while the latter commenced operations in 1854.

The first participation by a Baltimore steamboat in hostilities leading to the war was the loss of the steamship *William Jenkins* of the Merchants & Miners line, which was burned at her wharf at Savannah by the citizens of that city on January 21, 1861. As early as April 10, 1861, the steamer *Adelaide,* of the Old Bay Line, carried to Norfolk a number of Confederate recruits, enlisted in Baltimore, for the army of South Carolina. There were several other such movements, but the imminence of the war stopped them.

By May 2 the Old Bay Line was having difficulties with the commander of the blockading squadron at Old Point Comfort. Its steamer *Adelaide* was stopped there and not permitted to proceed to Norfolk. On her return to Baltimore she met the steamer *Louisiana* off Sharp's Island, bound down, and both returned to the city. The line temporarily discontinued the service, but after many attempts its negotiations with Washington were partly successful and occasional trips were made to Old Point Comfort. The line endeavored to have its steamer *William Selden* serve as a shuttle boat between Old Point Comfort and Norfolk, but the Virginian authorities seized the vessel. The line was then taken over by the Federal authority and was operated as the " Government Line " between Baltimore and Old Point Comfort. The *William Selden* was burned when the Confederates fired the city of Norfolk on May 10, 1862. President Lincoln who had been in the area observing the fleet movements and attempting to witness an engagement between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack,* used the steamer *Baltimore,* of Philadelphia, between Fortress Monroe and Norfolk. While on this steamer he saw the burning of the city,



TROOP TRANSPORTS ENTERING BALTIMORE HARBOR, MAY 9, 1861

Large steamer at left is the ferryboat *Maryland*, formerly in service between Havre de Grace and Perryville. About 3,000 regulars and Pennsylvania volunteers were aboard the vessels under convoy of U. S. S. *Harriet Lane*. From *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 25, 1861.

the burning of the steamers *Merrimack* and *William Selden,* by the Confederates, and had presented to him the flags from the reduced forts on Craney's Island, scene of the battle which he had witnessed the day previously.

At the start of the war the Government began to charter or purchase Baltimore steamboats. There was scarcely a steamer which did not, at some time or other, serve either as a transport, gunboat or supply vessel. All were taken with little ceremony, and certainly without consideration for the feelings of their owners. Some of these steamers remained in the Government service practically during the entire war. Others were returned to their owners for short periods, only to be retaken for war purposes. Sometimes owners planned to re-establish certain of their lines and overhauled their returned vessels, only to have the Government commandeer them again. The uses to which they were put were anything but easy on the once well-kept and trim vessels. It was a discouraging and demoralizing business for the owners and Baltimore's trade suffered severely as a result.

The first rumor of water-borne movement of troops through the city was verified on May 9, 1861, by the appearance of the steamers *Maryland* (ferry-boat), *Elizabeth, F. W. Brune* and *E. L. Gaw,* transports, having on board Sherman's Flying Artillery, regulars of the Third Infantry from Texas, and a Pennsylvania regiment of volunteers. These steamers were signalled to the city from the observatory on Federal Hill, and lay off Fort McHenry.

At one time or another the Old Bay Line vessels *Adelaide, Georgia, Louisiana, Georgeanna* and *Thomas A. Morgan* were in the service of the Union, and received tributes from the commanders whom they aided. The *Georgia* was a troop transport. The *Louisiana* often carried prisoners of war between Old Point Comfort and Baltimore, and was supplied with cannon and artillerymen. In General Burnside's expedition to North Carolina she was used as a transport and was praised by him as a sea boat. She went ashore a short distance north of Hatteras, in a treacherous spot, and was thought lost, but she floated off with the tide. Afterward she collided with and sank the Government steamer *Curlew,* and later collided with and damaged the Union steamer *Cambria.* She ran into Fort Carroll, in Baltimore harbor, on March 17, 1863. Doubtless many wondered if she had Confederates in her pilot house on these occasions.

Mrs. Lincoln, wife of the President, her step-mother, Mrs. R. S. Todd, and Mrs. Helm and Mrs. White, sisters of Mrs. Lincoln, came to Baltimore on the *Louisiana* on December 11, 1863, on one of this vessel's trips in the " Government Line." Mrs. Helm was the widow of General Helm, who had been killed at the battle of Chickamauga, in command of a Confederate brigade. The *Thomas A. Morgan,* of this line, served as a transport and carried many sick and wounded to various hospitals, a number of them to Baltimore. This vessel was struck in an artillery duel on July 31, 1862, near City Point, on the James River, but was not seriously damaged.

When this company finally emerged from the war it was a shadow of its former self. With all its difficulties, its vessels miserably deteriorated, its business in freight and passengers having to be re-established, it suffered the additional burden of an almost brutal competition from the new Leary Line. But it successfully met this threat and took over the Leary Line after little more than a year's struggle, but not before a questionable collision had occurred between the *Louisiana* and the new line's *George Leary,* in which several lives were lost.

The Merchants & Miners Transportation Company was forced practically to cease operations from the summer of 1861 until the end of the war. Its first vessel in the Government service was sold in August, 1861—the *Joseph Whitney*—the first of all vessels owned by this line, built in 1854. The Government later named her the *McClellan.* She was first used as a transport and later converted into a gunboat at Brooklyn Navy Yard. Soon the *Ben Deford* and *S. R. Spaulding* were in the service of the Union. The company attempted to operate, though unsuccessfully, the steamer *Baltimore* to Boston, having chartered her from Friend, Ricketts & Co., fruit importers. This vessel was built shortly prior to the war for service to Cuba, and had been sunk in the Chesapeake on her second trip to Baltimore, with the loss of many fine Havana cigars and other choice tidbits imported from that languorous isle. She was salvaged and after a few private trips was used for a time by the Government. This line, known as the Boston line, determined to operate in spite of the war, and built the steamship *George Appold* in 1864. In the same year it purchased the *William Kennedy,* but was unable to re-establish the service until St. Patrick's Day, 1865.

The Weems Line suffered its vicissitudes during the war. The owners being known as Confederate sympathizers, its vessels were frequently boarded in Baltimore, either at Light Street Wharf, or off Fort McHenry, for search and seizure of such contraband articles as medicines, Confederate bonds and weapons. All its vessels were at one time or another in Government service. The steamers *Mary Washington, George Weems* and *Planter,* the entire fleet, were taken possession of by the Government in August, 1862. The Company wished to maintain some service, if only skeletal in effect, and built the steamer *Matilda* in 1864, but she had to be chartered to the Federal Quartermaster until the end of the war. When the Government compelled cancellation of an excursion advertised by the company for the steamer, the bitter complaint of the owners availed them nothing. While she was serving as a transport, the *Matilda's* boiler exploded in the James River and killed her engineer, Thomas Brannon, of Baltimore, and injured others. The wonder is that, under the service demanded of these vessels, such accidents did not occur more often. Damage and injuries caused by inexperienced crews were probably concealed and reported as occurring in line of duty. But their former owners knew differently; many must have winced as their Chesapeake prides suffered. However, they sometimes had occasion to be proud of the performance of their vessels. As far as was practicable, masters and crews familiar with the vessels prior to the war were kept on them. Owners often arranged this with their former employees and with the Government.

Before the Southern sympathies of their owners were known the Weems steamers on the Potomac were frequently sniped at by the Secessionists. Movable plates of sheet iron were devised and placed on that side of the pilot house which presented itself to the Virginian shore, so that the men inside might not be wounded while navigating up or down the river. We can imagine that more than one passenger asked to have his stateroom changed to the opposite side of the vessel. The bulkheads of the rooms were but thinly paneled wood. Passengers probably argued that the scenery was more beautiful on the Maryland side. Pot shots at steamboats must have provided good sport for Confederate sharpshooters!

The Eastern Shore Steamboat Company's steamers *Hugh Jenkins, Balloon* and *Cecil* also had experience in the service of

the Union. The former was the first Baltimore steamboat purchased by the Government. She was sunk twice, first at Mount Vernon and again off Fortress Monroe. She was a hardy vessel, and both times was raised and continued in service. The *Balloon* and *Cecil* were purchased for transports and their decks became more accustomed to the feet of soldiers and horses than to the produce of the Eastern Shore.

The Individual Enterprise Company attempted valiantly to maintain service between Baltimore and the Eastern Shore, but one after another of its steamers were chartered or purchased by the Government. All popular vessels, they were the *Kent, Champion, Pioneer, John W. D. Pentz, Highland Light* and *Nellie Pentz.* The *Kent* was sunk off the Magothy River, and raised, but the *Nellie Pentz,* for all her full sized statue of Nellie, daughter of the former president of the line, on top of her pilot house, was lost by grounding in 1865, in Lynnhaven Bay, some months after the close of the war, while still in Government service.

The steamers *Chester, Arrow* and *George Law* of Slaughter's Line to the Corsica and Chester rivers were occasionally commandeered by the Government, but they were able, somehow or other, to carry on a character of service between times.

The old familiar steamers of the Powhatan Steamboat Company, formerly so welcome during more placid days on their trips to City Point on the James, where passengers changed for Richmond and Petersburg, again frequented that place, but under Union colors. One of the early uses of its steamer *George Peabody* was to tow old vessels to the coast of North Carolina to be sunk at the mouths of rivers and inlets to block Confederate shipping. A number of old Baltimore vessels were purchased for this purpose. The same steamer carried Baltimore's Mayor George William Brown and nine members of the State legislature, as political prisoners, in September, 1861, to Fort Lafayette. The *George Peabody* later collided with the Government steamer *West Point* off Ragged Point, Potomac River, with the loss of 76 convalescent Federal soldiers of General Burnside's expedition to Hatteras. The *George Peabody* was so badly damaged that she got out of control and drifted away from the troops floundering in the river. The *West Point* was a very old boat and was built in England. She was raised and became the steamer *Nellie Pentz,* which we have already mentioned. After repairs, the *George Peabody* was

twice grounded, once off North Carolina and again off Cape Lookout shoals. In the latter case, she was loaded with ammunition, but discharged a quantity of it to lighten her and ran into Beaufort, then held by the Federals.

The steamer *Pocahontas* of the Powhatan line went ashore in a gale off Hatteras and was totally wrecked, with the loss of many valuable horses, which were thrown overboard in the hope that they could swim ashore. The *Belvedere* of this line was one of the first of three Baltimore steamboats purchased by the Government, the other two being the *Hugh Jenkins* and the *Champion,* both already mentioned. The *Powhatan* assisted in the capture of Fort Fisher, North Carolina, during the winter of 1864-65.

One of the most famous steamboat episodes of the war was the capture of the *St. Nicholas* of the Alexandria, Washington, Georgetown and Baltimore Steamboat Company, by one of her passengers, Col. Zarvona Thomas, a Confederate agent in the disguise of a French woman, who took passage in Baltimore on June 28, 1861. He and his band employed the vessel in a sort of privateering expedition in the Chesapeake. The old and favorite steamer *Columbia,* also of the Washington line, was chartered to the Union during most of the war.

The *George Washington,* perhaps the oldest steamboat in the Civil War, served, as one of her duties, as a Federal truce boat between Old Point Comfort and Craney Island, Virginia, and many prisoners and dispatches were exchanged through her between the Confederates and Yankees. She was for years in the Citizens Union Line between Baltimore and Frenchtown. Captain George Trippe, commander of the first of all Baltimore built steamboats, the *Chesapeake,* was master also of the *George Washington* when she came out as a new steamer, built in Philadelphia in 1830. She was in service until 1884.

The *Isabel*, first ocean steamship built in Baltimore, in 1848, by L. H. Dunkin at Fells Point, during the launching of which three were killed and thirty injured, was brought to New York by the Federals as a prize, in 1862, under the name of *Ella Warley.* She was built for the Charleston-Havana service and was named after the then reigning queen of Spain. Her advanced design attracted wide attention and approval. Her engine was built in Baltimore by Charles Reeder, whose plant adjoined Federal Hill.

The Baltimore steamboats *Express, William Whilldin, Thomas*

A. Morgan, Kent and *Columbia* were struck in an artillery duel near City Point on the James River the last day of July, 1862. None was sunk, but they had a rough time of it. The steamer *Keyport,* off the bluffs in the Pamunkey River, was fired into by Confederates and considerably damaged. To expose frail and almost unprotected vessels, built for the demands of peaceful commerce, to gunfire was, of course, justified only by the necessity of war. Strange as were the vessels and their masters in such a service, both were indispensable to the cause.

The popular excursion steamer of our time, the *Louise,* also had her day in the Civil War. Built in 1863, she saw a short period of service in the Gulf of Mexico for Charles Morgan, founder of the Morgan Line, and then was chartered by the Government from December, 1864, until after the close of the war, earning for her owners $600 a day. This was not a considerable price, for certain vessels earned as much as $1200 to $1500 per day. Little did her thousands of excursionists in later days, on their way to and from Tolchester Beach, realize that she, too, had played her part in the War between the States. Of all the Civil War vessels of Baltimore or elsewhere the *Louise* lingered longest in active commerce and met her demise as late as 1933. Peace be to her timbers, appropriately interred in the depths somewhere off the western end of Long Island.

River and bay excursion trips during the war were, needless to say, few and far between. Not one was advertised for July 4, 1861. In the summer of 1862 practically the entire excursion business of the port was carried on by a tugboat, a barge and a ferryboat, *Belle of Baltimore,* and the trips were, due to the character of the equipment, limited to such short runs as Bear Creek, Fort Carroll and the Vineyard at Locust Point. Nor was there an excursion on July 4, 1863. The battle of Gettysburg began July 1 of that year and the city had been under martial law for some time. The first excursion advertised in 1863 was for July 27 to Annapolis, on the steamer *Kent,* after the pass order, again permitting persons to enter and leave the city without military authority, had been issued. The city enjoyed a breathing spell, and steamboats moved a little more freely.

The war was not without its chapters of scandals and accusations in regard to charters and sales to the Government. There were two outstanding cases in this respect, the first at Baltimore

in February, 1863, and the other at Norfolk, in January, 1864. In a report of Senator Grimes of a Senate committee, charges were made against Charles Coblens, John F. Pickrell and Amasa C. Hall, all of Baltimore, who were said to have purchased worthless boats and chartered them to the Government through Colonel James Belger, Quartermaster at Baltimore, at exhorbitant rates. As much as 529½ per cent. profit on certain steamers and other vessels familiarly known to Baltimoreans was alleged to have been made. Other irregularities and fraudulent practices were also charged. Colonel Belger was relieved from his position by Secretary of War Stanton. Though a court-martial later found him not guilty, and honorably acquitted him, he was nevertheless dismissed from the army. Several years after the war he was reinstated, as of the date of his dismissal.

The Norfolk case was called by the newspapers a " monstrous steamboat operation," and involved, with others, Coblens and Pickrell, who had figured in the Baltimore case. Excessive profits from obsolescent hulks sold or chartered to the Government were alleged. Vessels abandoned as worthless were claimed to have been salvaged, patched and painted and palmed off on the Government.

The last steamboat excitement in the Chesapeake, incident to the war, was the seizure of the newly built steamer *Harriet Deford,* at Fairhaven, on the Patuxent, by a band of guerillas under command of Captain Fitzhugh, formerly operating in the Valley of Virginia as one of Mosby's band. She was undoubtedly a marked vessel and attractive to the Confederates, having been built as late as October, 1864, and was very fast. She was new to the Patuxent, filling in, while the Weems steamers were in Government service. Captain Fitzhugh entered the river on April 3, six days prior to Lee's surrender. After putting all white passengers and the captain ashore, though not without first taking his wallet, for the purpose, undoubtedly, of acquiring a Yankee souvenir, the Rebel raider retained the engineer and firemen and some sixty negroes—many of them children—and headed the steamer, as his prize, down the bay to a more sympathetic area. A fast steam tug, from Baltimore, was sent out in pursuit, well armed and manned. The steamer *Louisiana*, still in the " Government Line " to Old Point Comfort, reported, on the next day, that nothing had been heard of the captured vessel, but that the bay was

full of craft of war searching for her. She was found four days later in Indian Creek and blockaded by Federal gunboats of the Potomac flotilla.

The end of the war brought the return of the chartered steamboats, one by one, to their owners. Many of them were in such bad shape that they had to be sold for what they would bring, while some of the Baltimore lines would not even bid on their once proud vessels, so utterly unfit for service were they from hard Government usage. For this reason many Baltimore steamers were sold to other ports, though some of these returned to the city later. Although the competition was keen and, at times, merciless, the lines slowly began to regain something of their old position. More lines were established to the rivers and cities of the South than there were prior to the war, while only those hitherto operating to the North were put into service again, with one notable exception, a new line to New York, which did not prove successful. Baltimore interests even established a line on the Savannah River, between Savannah and Augusta.

Like all other enterprises of the city as a result of the war, steamboats were great sufferers. Those that returned were welcomed along with the home-coming troops. Indeed, many steamers found employment here long before the returned soldiers. Friends of the devastated and hungry South with its great need for food, supplies and replacements saw to that. It was not long before the same vessels that so often harmed and blockaded southern ports were once more transports of peace and agents of reconstruction.

A FRENCH TRIBUTE TO CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

Introduction and Translation by

Helen I. Cowan

Among many tributes to the character and civic services of Charles Carroll of Carrollton that quoted below seems to be unique. It occupied precious space in a dispatch of the French minister in Washington to his superiors in Paris, and it placed the great Marylander among the first presidents of the United States. This misstatement regarding one of the few honors that Charles Carroll could not own was the work of a secretary, it is true, and not the error of the minister, M. le Baron Durand de Mareuil.[1] He knew better, for his acquaintance with the United States was wide. Henry Clay's strenuous travelling, dinners to Richard Rush, enthusiasm for the revolutionary doctrine of General Lafayette, American canals and the American climate, all interested him.[2] Maryland he appears to have known particularly well. When he first arrived in Washington and decided that the town was utterly without resources, he made a hurried trip to Baltimore to shop for necessities. Before long he was dining at Mrs. Caton's where old " Mr. Carroll conversed finely in French " with him.[3] Presently his beautiful wife [4] brought their daughters and the French attaché to dance in Robert Gilmor's dining rooms. Again and again the Baron himself found time to visit Baltimore and recommend that his government appoint a consul to this busy port, or report astutely that there was a bit of illusion in the hope of the new

[1] Aff. Etr., Paris, Cor. Pol., E.-U., vol. 80, p. 295, vol. 83, p. 67. M. le Baron Durand de Mareuil sent his first dispatch from Washington, 3 August 1824, his last, 11 April 1827. George Ticknor, describing the diplomatic corps in Washington in 1825, wrote of the Russian minister, Baron de Tuyll, as " a strange, retired fanatic "; of the British chargé, Addington, as " a very acute, well-informed man of letters "; but of Baron de Mareuil as " a truly elegant gentleman, in the largest sense of the term," adding " and his wife is a very sweet and beautiful woman, with winning manners." (*Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor*, Boston, J. R. Osgood, 1876, I, 350).

[2] Aff. Etr., Paris, Cor. Pol., E.-U., vols. 80, 81, 82, 83, *passim*. Photostatic copies in Library of Congress.

[3] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVII (1922), p. 328.

[4] J. Seaton, *William Winston Seaton of the "National Intelligencer." A biographical sketch*. Boston, 1871, pp. 170-1.

railroad making the city, within twenty years, "le plus riche marché de l'univers." [5] But it was a visit in the summer of 1826 that moved the French pen to eloquence. The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence had just been followed by the memorial ceremonies for Thomas Jefferson and John Adams,[6] when Baron de Mareuil travelled from the heat of Washington to Charles Carroll's home in the Maryland countryside. On his return to the capital, the minister's dispatch began:

Washington 28 July 1826

My lord,

Since the news which I sent you by the last packet, North America has done nothing but pay honor to the memory of Messrs. Jefferson and Adams. These two men, equally illustrious in political life, were long known as the heads of the two parties which still divide the United States. Mr. Jefferson undoubtedly triumphed with the Democrats, and Mr. Adams' son did not attain the presidency himself until many years after joining the party that had opposed his father. This apparent defection, however, did not prevent the Federalists from reuniting finally under his banner and some say, with a certain degree of likelihood, that if the two veterans had not succumbed far distant from each other at almost the same time on the same day, one might have believed that the elder Adams died of joy at seeing his party revived and his special rival expire before himself. Be that as it may, similar pomp and similar honors surrounded both tombs.

Mr. C. Carroll of Carrollton is the only remaining signer of the Declaration of Independence He lives like a patriarch in the midst of his family

Only one signer of the Declaration of Independence of 1776 remains. He is Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a man younger than Mr. Adams by two years, and six years older than Mr. Jefferson. Next September he will enter his ninetieth year. This Nestor of the United States well deserves an introduction to Your Excellency. I have just spent eight days with him at his place, in the midst of his family and my own, whom I took with me. My heart is full of the deep interest which this old gentleman inspires in all those who come near him. Descended from a wholly Catholic family, one of the first of Maryland, owner of 30,000 or 40,000 acres of land in that state and long retired from political life, he manages all his own affairs and lives surrounded by

[5] Aff. Etr., Paris, Cor. Pol., E.-U., vol. 82, p. 136, vol. 83, p. 75.
[6] *Niles Register*, XXX, 383-5.

his children and grandchildren like a patriarch of Biblical times.

His health is excellent: not an infirmity. With his active mind, amiable and interested in the present, he makes all about him happy and is adored by all. He was educated in France, first at Rheims, later in Paris by the Jesuits, who then conducted the College of Louis the Great. In 1757 he was still in France with his father, who had come to negotiate for a large concession of land in Louisiana.[7] The attempted crime of Damiens and the retreat of M. de Marchault caused the failure of that plan. Mr. Carroll speaks of that time as if it were yesterday: the court, the city, the spectacles, all are clear in his memory and, although he never returned to France, his recollection of it is so fine that several times he has thought of going to make his home there altogether. Perhaps you know, as well, that it is one of his granddaughters who has just been married to the Marquis of Wellesley,—that another, the widow of Mr. Harvey, is reported to be going to marry the Archbishop of Dublin, and that the third, Miss Keaton, also seems reserved for some great settlement.[8] There is happiness in the family and it is well deserved. Its venerable head may still live long. It has been said that Mr. Adams was eight years older than Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Jefferson eight years older than Mr. Madison, Mr. Madison eight years older than Mr. Monroe, Mr. Monroe eight years older than the present President, 91, 83, 75, 67, 59.[9] I should conclude that Mr. Carroll ought to live to 99, in order to complete the first term of the progression. And why should he not? Living in Baltimore in the winter, in the country in the summer, at this season he always rises at five in the morning. He takes a cold bath,—very cold; he rides horseback; his life is simple, his diet frugal but substantial. He plays whist and chess with the spirit of a young man and, better than all that, he is full of sincere and kindly piety and, recognizing the favors that Heaven grants him, he lives prepared to leave this world whenever

He has no illness. He is alert and likable. He was educated in France He has thought several times of returning there

By a calculation comparing him with the other Presidents Mr. Carroll could live to 99 His habits are simple, frugal He is resigned and pious

[7] K. M. Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832*, New York, 1898, I, 32, has the same episode.

[8] Charles Carroll's granddaughter, Marianne Caton, the widow of Robert Patterson of Baltimore, m. 1825, Richard Colley, Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; a second granddaughter, Elizabeth, m. Baron Stafford; and another, Louise Katherine Caton, widow of Sir Felton Bathurst-Hervey, m. 1828, Francis Godolphin D'Arcy, seventh Duke of Leeds.

[9] John Adams, 1735-1826; Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1826; James Madison, 1751-1836; James Monroe, 1758-1831; John Quincy Adams, 1767-1848.

Gods wills; that is what he told his dearest granddaughter who was alarmed to see him set out for Baltimore where he had been invited to take the place of honor at the funeral ceremony of the two former Presidents. This invitation was somewhat lacking in tact, it seemed a little like asking the old gentleman to attend his own obsequies; but he returned as he went tranquill, resigned, worthy at the same time of both admiration and love.

Perhaps I have carried this digression a little far.[10]

[10] Aff. Etr., Paris, Cor. Pol., E.-U., vol. 82, pp. 198-200.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Volume XXXVI, page 334)

[In the following letters and lists of goods ordered from London Barrister Carroll furnishes a glimpse of absorbing interest into the way of life of a cultivated colonial in Maryland shortly before the Revolution. His family is now spending the summers in the country, presumably at Mount Clare, where improvements are proceeding. To Bristol he sends detailed instructions for hewing marble to form a portico to his residence. Unfortunately the letterbook does not include the design which he furnished, but the description given appears to tally in general with the existing portico at Mount Clare. The fruit trees and other garden supplies, the silver, furniture and household articles, clothing for the family and servants, wines, playing cards, fishing tackle and books ordered, all bear testimony to Carroll's ample means and broad interests. The letters shed light on prevailing prices. They also show that Maryland shoppers of the 1760's remained undismayed by delays of nearly a year in receipt of goods ordered and the hit-or-miss results of buying through an intermediary.]

Sir

Please to send me In the Gardeners Callendar in one Vol. Oct^{o} Price five shillings by Doctor Hill and Barry on Digestion. Love wrote me word he was to be In by April I shall be Glad to Receive my Goods by him as we shall be then in Town otherwise as we Generally spend our Summers in the Country we shall be obliged to make a Jaunt to Town to be at the opening of them which in Hot weather is not so very agreeable.

I am Sir y^{r} M h^{ble} Serv^{t}

C. Carroll

Annapolis Novem^{r} 9th 1766
To M^{r} W^{m} Anderson merchant in London } ℔ Captain Hamilton

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Sir

Inclosed I send you Captain Loves Bills of Lading for one Hhh^{d} Tobacco and fifteen Tons of Pig and five Tons Iron and the

first of Mr Matthew Tilghmans Bills on Messrs Hanbury's for five hundred Pounds Sterling with which Please to Credit my account.

I am Sir yr m Hble Servant

Chas Carroll

Maryland Novemr 25th 1766
To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Capt. Banning

Sir

Inclosed I send you Captain Montgomeries Bills Lading for twenty two Tons of Pig and four Tons Bar Iron and the second of Mr Matthew Tilghman's Bills on Meesrs Hanbury's for five Hundred Pounds Sterling with which Please to Credit my Account.

I am Sir your most Hble Servt

Chas Carroll

Annapolis Maryland December 5th 1766
To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
℔ Captain McLachlan

P. S. I have wrote to Messrs Scott Pringle and Company Merchants in Madeira to send me a pipe of wine for the Costs on which I have Directed them to Draw a Bill on you which Bill be Pleased to pay when it Comes to Hand and Charge to the Account.

of your Hble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis December 6th 1766
℔ Captain McLachlin
Decemr 24th ℔ the sloop Potts Capt George Cook
InClosed in a Letter Directed to Messrs
Scott Pringle and Co merchts in Madeira

Gent

I had the Pleasure of Mr Murrays Company as he went through this Province and by his Recommendation I Desire you will by

the first Vessell Coming to Annapolis (I Desire you will by the first Vessell Coming to Annapolis) send me a Pipe of the Best Madeira wine as it is for my own Table use I would have it of the very Prime Kind for the Cost of which you will be pleased to Draw on Mr William Anderson Merchant in London and send with your Bill the Inclosed Letter I would if you Can have the wine two or three years old or more if it Can be Got of Equal Goodness in Quality with what may be Bought of the Last vintages and Tho' it should Cost me more I shall willingly allow it and Suppose for the advance upon the Price it may be Got. There are so many of the name in this Town that some Particular Distinction is necessary to Prevent mistakes please therefore to Direct to me Councellor or Barrister at Law and when you write to Mr Anderson be pleased to mention me with that addition.

Mr Murray Promised me he would mention me Particularly to you and as I shall annually write for a Pipe I hope I shall have no Reason to Change my Correspondence. If at any time a pipe of Superfine old or new is to be met with and you will Lay it by and write me word I will send orders to Mr Anderson to pay your Draft for it and my Directions to you to Ship it me.

Annapolis Maryland December 6th 1766

I am Gent yr M hble Servt

Cha. Carroll

To Messrs Scott Pringle and Company
Merchants at Madeira
℔ A Vessell of Mr Saml
Galloways
Decemr 24th ℔ the Sloop Potts
Captain Geo: Cook

Sir

I sent you by Banning and McLachlan Mr Matthew Tilghmans Bills on Messrs Hanbury's for five Hundred Pounds Sterling which Hope you have Got Safe to Hand.

I desire you will send me by the first Ship Coming Convenient to Annapolis the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice Insured so that in case of Loss I may Draw my Costs and Charges. I would have

them by the Fall if opportunity offers, and if Mr Zachariah Hood or Mr Charles Wallace should be Ready to Come in by that time I would have them sent by them.

I have given Mr Zachariah Hood an order on you for Sixteen Guineas to Procure some things for me he will Describe to you the Kind of Syllabub Bowl I mean. I have seen them here with Circular Loose Tops of scalloped Carved Plate that fit Exactly in the Top of the Bowl, to Put on when used for Syllabub, and take off when occasion for Punch The Bowl Generally fluted or Carved with Hasp or falling Handles, if any that will suit both occasions more Fashionable Let the silversmith send his according to his own Taste. But I would not have it made Cup or Urn Fashion but as near as Can be to the shape of a Common China Bowl with a Handsome foot.

My wife would have some slight woolen Rolled up with the floor Cloths to Prevent their Rubbing so as to be Defaced by Getting the Paint off, if any Danger without it.

I shall have occasion I believe to Purchase some Negroes for the works this year and to Draw on you for about two hundred Pounds Sterling, My wife joints me in Compliments to all.

I am Dear Sir your most Hble servant

C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
February 24th 1767

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London
March 26th 1767 ℔ Mr Charles Wallace
℔ Mr Zachariah Hood

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson merchant in London Dated the 24th February 1767

2 Brass Latches Thumb and Hand pieces for front Doors
1 Dozen best brass wine Cocks half with Good strong Keys to Lock and 1 Brass Knocker half Plain
2 Good Brass box Locks for Parlour Doors
6 ℔ Best Battle Gun Powder.
25 ℔ of Patent Birding Shot, 10 Pounds of Mustard seed Ditto
5 Dozen best Gun flints
6 Chamoy skins for Lining Breeches
10 yards of Pocket Drillings

2 Good Painted floor Cloths, one of them to be 18 feet Long by 16 feet wide the other 16 feet wide by 12 feet Long, both made of the best and strongest Duck and Painted so as to bear mopping over with a wet mop and Put up Dry and so as not to be Cracked or to have the Paint Rubbed of.
6 Good strong Earthen Jars well wickered to hold about 30 Gallons Each
2 Good manage Curb Bridle Bits with Reins and full head stalls
2 short Half Curb Ditto without Reins
one silver Bowl to suit Either for Syllabub or Punch to hold between two Quarts and five Pints, Chased or fluted to be made in the Shape of a China Bowl and not urn fashion with a Handsome foot and Hasp Handles to fall with a Joint. Coat of Arms Engraved
one Plain Mahogany Card Table straight Legs one Hundred wt of White Lead Ground in Oil well Packed in Light Barrells

Books

The Analysis of Montesquieus Spirit of Laws by Mr De Alembert. Translated from the French.
Cardinal D'Retz's memoirs Translated from the French.
Davilas History of the Civil Wars in France Translated from the French
Pompadours Memoirs Translated from the French
Dialogues of the Dead by Hurd
Tacitus History and Annalls Salust—Latin
Johnson's English Dictionary in Folio.
Francis's Horace or one Lately Published by Dodsley Translated by Dencombe &c.
Gordon's Salust
A Collection of the most Interesting Tracts which were Published in England and America on the Subject of Taxing the American Colonies and Regulating their Trade in two volum's Bound
A Collection of the most Esteemed Political Tracts which appeared During the years 1763-64-65 and 66 in four or five volums bound.
The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon being a Continuation of his History of the Rebellion from the Restoration written by himself Printed from the original Manuscript Given to the University of Oxford Printed in octavo three vol's £1-1s-0d sold by T Payne in London.
The Patriot Miscellany or a Collection of Essays Relating to the Political Contests in Ireland During the administration of his Grace the Duke of Dorset octavo two volums. 6/ Dublin Printed and sold by Stevens in Paternoster Row
Monthly Reviews from 1760 to the Present year from R. Griffith Paternoster Row and send the volum for Each year after as Published.
One Round Tea Table two feet four inches in the Diameter or over—of the best Mahogany with a scallop'd Raised Edge Cut in the solid wood and Handsome Carved feet and Carved and Fluted Pillar.

Gentlemen

I shall Ship you in the first of your Ships that arrive here Bar and Pig Iron that will Amount in Value to about one hundred and thirty Pounds Sterling Fifty Pounds of which I shall take out in Iron ware and other Coarse Goods from you Part of the Remainder for I hope it will not take near the whole of what will be Left I Intend to apply to Executing the Plan Inclosed that is Purchasing the Round Columns and those to which the Pilasters Join The Stone, and marble mentioned in it I do not Know the Cost of such mentioned but I suppose the stone must Come Cheaper from the Quarries near Bath than Else where as it is Easily Hewn and the water Carriage to Bristol Convenient and the Black and white Marble I suppose will be Equally Reasonable. The Plan is for a Portico or Colonade to be Joined to the Front of a House and Project Eight Feet from it, An Arch at Both Ends, for a Passage through it, to Spring from Pilasters of Stone Joined to the End Pillars of the front of the Portico and the two three Quarter Round Columns, I think they Call them, that Run up Close to the wall of the House; The manner of which may be Easily seen and the hight of the four Round Columns in Front and the two others by a work man in the Ground Plan and the Profile or side View which I send you Inclosed.

The Columns must be Round of the Plain Doric order and the Proportions Exact according to the scale and Plans in Length and Diameter, And those to which the Pilasters are to be Joined in one, and as I Conceive Hewn out of the same Block or Blocks, that make up the Columns, and with the Columns, must be Cut Exactly in the manner that may be Easily Discovered by a workman Inspecting the Plan as the full Round Columns and those with the Pilasters Joined to them will be Composed of Different Blocks or Pieces of Stone to be Placed one upon the other Putty or Cement for Joining must be sent in with them or Instructions How to make it. The Stone and Marble must be Carefully Packed and the Captain Instructed to have them Gently Lowered into the Hold or the Cases may be Broken and the Stone Broken or Defaced.

Every thing I think so plain that an Artist Can not mistake on Casting his Eye on the Plan if any Doubt However, Let me Know by the very first opportunity or if the Cost of what is mentioned

in the Plan far Exceeds the Remainder that will be in your Hands After Purchasing the fifty Pounds worth of Goods I shall write for, tho' as I before mentioned I hope it will not amount to so much. I send you this to Give the more time to have what I mention Ready to send by your first ship next year. I shall write to you by the Ship I send my Iron in and in the mean time am

Gentlemen your Most H^ble^ Servant

Annapolis July 2^d^ 1767 — Cha^s^ Carroll

To Mess^rs^ Sedgley Hilhouse and Randolph
Merchants in Bristol July 27^th^ 1767
M^r^ Greshams
Ship for Bristol
℔ Captain Spenser for Bristol

Sir

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Hazard Cap^t^ Adam Coxen now in Choptank Sixteen Tons of Bar Iron and fourteen Tons of Pig I Desire therefore that you will make Insurance for me on the said Vessell there and thence to the Port of London that in Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of two hundred and ninety five Pounds Sterling and Place the Premiums of such Insurance to the account of Sir

Your Most H^ble^ Servant
Cha^s^ Carroll

Annapolis July 19^th^ 1767
To M^r^ William Anderson Merchant in London — July 27^th^ sent to Captain Love by his Brother
℔ Cap^t^ Hanrick

Gentlemen

I shall ship you in your Ship the Albion Captain Thomas Spencer now in Chester River Seven Tons of Bar Iron and four Tons of Pig I Desire therefore that you will make Insurance for me on the said Vessell there and thence to the Port of Bristol that in Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of one hundred and

twenty five Pounds Sterling and the Premiums of such Insurance Place to the account of

Your Most H^ble^ Servant

Charles Carroll

Annapolis, Maryland
July 19^th^ 1767

To Mess^rs^ Sedgeley Hilhouse and Randolph Merchants in Bristol

July 27^th^ 1767
℔ Capt Love and
℔ M^r^ Gresham's Ship

Dear Sir

My not having my Goods for my Family use sent me Early in the Spring by your first Ship is a Great Inconveniency to me And as you Gave me for Reason of the Delay this year that my Letters did not arrive time Enough—I am Resolved not to Give the Like occasion for the Future so send you this Invoice for my own use I am sure in Good time

My wife takes much Pleasure in Gardening and sends you a List of Peaches of Each of which she would be Glad if you would send some of the stones of those of them than Can be met with tied up in Different Parcels and the names of Each wrote on the Parcel as Likewise some of the stones of your Best Apricots and Nectarians I would direct in, some of the trees in Boxes but I fear they would be too troublesome However if Montgomerie will Engage to take Care of them and Land them for me at Annapolis I should be Glad if you would send me the Trees mentioned in the List in Boxes whoever you send them by must water them a Little As the Trees will be young and small many of them I suppose may be put in a Box just Enough to Keep them alive During the Passage—I leave it to your Discretion to Judge whether they will be too Troublesome Combersome or Costly or to send me what is Convenient of those mentioned and if you Can meet with anything Curious and will send it us now and then shall be obliged to you.

The Nursery man may Look into Millars Gardeners Dictionary where he will see the names of Each if they are sent I hope the Nursery man will be Carefull that they are Good Thriving young Grafts and well Earthed and of the very same Kind mentioned as

they are sometimes Knaves and send Poor worthless Fruit and Different from what is mentioned the Pears should be Grafted on Quince stocks or they will not Last well Here

An Answer to yours with my account Current and Goods I shall send when I have more Leisure to Look them over which I have not now an opportunity of doing as my family is in the Country I shall only now Say that I think your Tradesmen do not deal Honestly by me and that the Captain the Goods Came by has been very Careless of them My Case with the Liquors was broke the feet stove in and two of the Bottles broke and the Liquor Lost which must have Proceeded from absolute negligence This I know he is answerable for to me but I hate squabbling and shall only Request more Care for the future.

I am Dear Sir your M hble Servt

Cha. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
July 20th 1767

July 27th 1767
℔ Captain Hanrick

To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London

Sent to Captain Love by his Brother

Invoice of Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 20th July 1767.

4 1 piece of very best Sheeting at 5/ that sent this year at 4/ Intolerably
)|(Coarse and not worth half the money—
x|x
1 piece of fine Irish Linen @ 5/
1 piece of Coarser Ditto @ 2/
2 pieces of Dowlass
1 piece of White British Sprigg Linen
1 piece of Towelling Diaper or Huckaback
1 piece of very fine Clear Lawn
1 piece of fine white Figured Dimothy
4 fine Damask Table Cloths 9/4 wide and 10/4 Long
4 fine Damask Ditto 8/4 Square
4 fine Diaper Table Cloths 8/4 wide and 9/4 Long
1 Dozen fine Diaper Napkins
2 of the best fine thick Flanders Bed ticks } Bolsters and Pillows }
4 pair of the best sort of Blankets about 9 or 10 Quarter wide
1 ounce of fine Cambrick thread
6 Do of Good Coarse nuns thread
2 ℔ of Whited brown Do

6 ℔ of osnabrigs D°
1 m best white Chapel needles in sizes from osnabrigs to the 14th Size
3 m best Midling Pins
3 m short Whites D°
3 m minnikins D°
4 Patterns of Flowered or Spriged Lawn Aprons—
6 Flowered Bordered Lawn Handkerchiefs
The Aprons and Handkerchiefs must be of a Midling Sized and Cheap Lawn
1 Fashionable Hat
2 Fashionable Caps of Gause and Lace with flowers
2 Fashionable Breast flowers
1 Suit of Ribbon
1 Genteel Necklace of best french wax [?]
2 Fans one at about 18/ the other at 10/
8 pair of unGlazed or French Kid Gloves
4 pair of Ditto Mitts
2 pair best Silk shoes
4 pair best black Russel or Calamanco Shoes
6 pair of womens fine white 4 thread worsted Hose
2 pair best 4 threaded thread D°
3 best Garden Scythes
6 ounces of mace
6 D° Cloves 6 D° nutmegs 6 D° Cinnimon
14 Loaves of best Double refined Sugar
14 Loaves of best Single D°
10 ℔ best Green and 4℔ best Hyson Tea
12 ℔ of Common ordinary bohea D°
6 ℔ of best Fig blue
1 Case of Pickles the Case to be made Strong with a Good Lock to Contain six two Quart Bottles two of them filled with Anchovies 2 with Capers one with Walnuts and one with best sallad oil
1 Good Marble Morter that will Hold about three pints and Marble Pestle to it
1 three Quart Bell Metal skillet and Cover
1 Brass Kettle that will hold about two Gallons and a Half with Cover to it
2 Iron Tea Kettles of the Common Size Pollished
2 Dozen small Cut Jelly Glasses about half as Big as the Common Size
1 Dozen best flint wine Glasses
2 wine and water Glasses
2 Cider D°
2 one Quart flint Decanters Ground Stoppers
2 one Pint Dito
4 best Square flint Quart Bottles narrow mouths and Ground Stoppers for a Case to be made here

4 Little Glasses for Silver Salts that are of a Midling Size
2 Small Mustard Glasses for a Silver Castor they must not be more than three Inches High
6 Gross of best Velvet Corks
2 Gallons Port wine in Quart Bottles
2 Gallons of best Renish wine in Quart Bottles
2 Gallons of Ditto in pint Bottles
2 Gallons Port wine in Pint Bottles
3 Gallons of Anack in Quart Bottles
2 Gallons French Brandy in Quart Bottles
Let all the Bottles be well Corked and waxed and the Liquor of the best sort
½ a Chest of best Lisbon Lemons by your first ship and half a one Do by your Last—
1 piece of Ticking or Coarse Fustain such as they make Servants Levery Frocks of—
½ a Gross flat yellow Metal Coat Buttons well shanked—
½ Gross Ditto vest Buttons
6 Hanks Bed mohair
1 piece Common Stript Camblet of Brown and Red or Green and Red Colours—
1 Good Light mans beaver Hat of the same size and Sort of that sent me in this year @ 18/
About 20/ worth of the best Pamphlets Published
1 Good Light Pocket fishing Reel to hold lines hooks Leads &c with all the apparatus Compleat—
3 Fashionable Bags for wigs—
20 lb of Burnot [?] seed
1 Furkin best scotch Barley
3 Dozen Packs of Playing Cards
½ hundred best Pins
½ hundred best Ship Biscuit
12 Pound Coarse thread Different Colours
1 Green Corded Silk waistcoat
2 young Cherrie Trees that have been Buded or Grafted one of them the Hertfordshire heart the other the Carnation Cherry
3 Plum Trees that are not more than one years Growth from the Bud or 2 at the most
1 of the Early black Damask Commonly Called the morocco Plum
1 of the violet Predigron Plum
1 of the St Catherine Plum
8 Pear Trees Grafted on Good Free Stocks
1 of the Red Muscadelle, it is also Called the fairest or Supreme
1 of the Skinless or Early Ruselet Pear
1 of the autumn Bergamot

1 of the Iargonelle
1 of the Avarat or Royal Pear
1 of the Dry martin Some times Called the Dry Martin of N Campagne
1 of the Pound Pear, Commonly Called Parkin sous marden or the Black Pear of Worcester—
1 of the Easter St Germain
all these Trees must be put in Boxes of Earth such as are Proper to bring them over Sea the Boxes must be numbered and the names of the Sort that is in Each number be wrote down and sent with other Papers.

Peach Stones of the following Sorts about a Dozen or 2 of each

The Early White Nutmeg
The Early Red Nutmeg
The Bell Cherruse
The Early Magdalen
The Bell Grade
} These Part from the Stone

The Early Purple
The Old Newington
The Monstrous Pavia of Pompone
} These adhere to the Stone

The Last Edition of Farriery Improved or a Compleat Treatise on the art of Farriery by Henry Bracken—

THE FAMILY OF COLONEL JAMES RIGBIE[1]

By Henry Chandlee Forman

The name of Rigbie was familiar in many a Maryland household a little over a century ago, but is now almost unknown. A short genealogical sketch of this family is given below.[2]

The Rigbie family of England lived chiefly in Lancashire at Burgh and Layton, at Middleton Hall, at Hartoke Hall and at Preston Wigan. The name had various spellings, such as Rigby, Rigbey, Rigbye, Rigbee. Since the records of the Parish Church of Wigan, Lancashire, possess the names of many persons by the name of James Rigby from 1580 onwards, it is possible, but of course by no means probable, that this was the branch of the family to which James Rigbie of Maryland belonged. Burke gives the arms of Rigby of Wigan as, *Argent, on a cross patonce sable, five mullets, pierced, or*, and Fairbairn gives the crest as, *An antelope's head erased or, guttée-de-sang.*

1. James[1] Rigbie and his wife Katherine Ceely came to Maryland in 1659, and for his services to Maryland he received the patent the same year for "Rigby," one hundred and twenty-five acres in Arundel County situated on the north side of Severn River and on the south side of Broad Creek (Annapolis, Liber 2, folio 213; Liber 4, folio 484; Liber 5, folio 53; Liber 6, folio 15). He also owned "Persimon Point," four hundred acres in Baltimore County patented to him in 1659; eighteen hundred acres on Kent Island; "Rigby's Marsh," three hundred acres in Talbot County patented to him in 1664; and "Cabin Neck," forty-three acres in the same county in 1669. In 1681 he died at "about" the age of fifty. In his will, dated 8 November 1680 and proved 30 April

[1] This article continues the story of Colonel James Rigbie which appeared in the *Magazine* for March, 1941.

[2] There were other Rigbies in Maryland who were not connected with the family of Colonel James Rigbie, as far as is known. The earliest Rigbie in Maryland was probably the Reverend Roger Rigbie, of the Roman Catholic mission in Maryland, 1640 (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, I, 307). In Talbot County Arthur Rigby married before 1677 Ellinor (Morris) Orem (d. 1743), widow of Andrew Orem, and had Arthur Rigbie II, who died in 1767. By his wife Mary LeCompte Arthur Rigbie II had Philip Rigbie, Moses Rigbie, Jonathan Rigbie, Elizabeth Rigbie and Eleanore Rigbie. In Calvert County John Rigbie (d. 1754) married Catherine, daughter of William Gray, and left issue. In Somerset County Lewis Rigbie married before 1733 Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Elzey.

1681 in Anne Arundel County (Annapolis, Liber 2, folio 140), he bequeathed to his wife Katherine Rigbie " the plantation I now live upon containing about one hundred and thirty acres by survey" ["Rigby"], and likewise his "silver tackard" and his "Silver Candle Cup and Cover."

"Mr" James Rigbie was a member of the House of Burgesses in 1678-9 (*Archives*, VII, 4, 11, 25), and also of the Society of Friends. In 1678 he was appointed not only to "look after" the orphans of the West River Friends' Meeting, but to make a report of collections and disbursements for his own Severn Meeting. At a Men's Meeting in 1679 at George Skipwith's house at West River he submitted satisfactorily these financial reports. In 1680 he left a legacy of £4 to the Meeting at West River (Friend's Records, Park Avenue, Baltimore).

After his death his widow Katherine married Henry Constable (died 1696; Annapolis, Liber 7, folio 220), who left to his stepson James[2] Rigbie, the three hundred acres of "Untried Friendship" on the Patapsco River. Katherine (Rigbie) Constable died in 1698 in Anne Arundel County. Her will, dated 17 April 1698, proved 26 May 1698 (Liber 7, folio 353), mentioned her son James[2] Rigbie and grandsons James[3] and Nathan[3] Rigbie, the sons of James[2] Rigbie, and her granddaughter Catherine[3] Ceely, and her son John[2] Rigbie. Her son John inherited land on Patapsco River and a lot in the town of Annapolis.

James and Katherine (Ceely) Rigbie had issue as follows:

2. I. JAMES[2] RIGBIE, born before 1662 (since he had not reached 18 in 1680); died 1700 (*of whom later*).

II. John[2] Rigbie, died 1700. His will, dated 26 October 1700 and proved 23 November 1700 (Annapolis, Liber 11, folio 28), mentions his father-in-law Richard Galloway, his mother-in-law Elizabeth Galloway, his brother-in-law Benjamin Lawrence, his brother James (Rigbie), his wife Eliza (Galloway) and his daughter Eliza, who married Peter Galloway (Annapolis, Accounts, Liber 1, folio 12). He inherited from his father three hundred acres of land on Patapsco River "bought of Robert Harwood."

III. Mary[2] Rigbie, died 1690 or 1691. Her will was proved 14 February 1691 (Liber 6, folio 15). By the terms of

her father's will she was to inherit the home plantation ("Rigby") after the decease of her mother. She married John Ceely (died 1691) of Anne Arundel County, and had a daughter Katherine Ceely (Annapolis, Wills, Liber 2, folio 213), who was in her minority in 1691.

IV. Elizabeth[2] Rigbie.

2. James[2] Rigbie (*James*[1]) was born before 1662 in Anne Arundel County, and died there in 1700. He married some time before 18 September 1698 Elizabeth Smith, who was baptized in that year at the age of twenty-five (St. James Parish Records, 1682-1869, p. 309). She was spoken of as "Elizabeth Rigbie wife of Mr. James Rigbye of St. James Parish in Ann Arun[ll] County." In her will, dated 3 November 1700 and proved 8 December 1700 (Annapolis, Liber 11, folio 11), she left all her lands, except one hundred acres, to her three "Deare" sons, Nathan,[3] James,[3] and Thomas[3] Rigbie. Fifty of these hundred acres were reserved as a "Glebe" for the use of the minister of St. James' Parish and his successors.

Elizabeth (Smith) Rigbie was the daughter of Nathan Smith (II) of Anne Arundel County and his wife Margaret, who *later* became the wife of Thomas Tench. The Rent Roll, 1707, Anne Arundel County, gives the tract "Jericho" as belonging to Thomas Tench Esquire "for ye orphans of James Rigbie whose wife was daughter and heir of Nathan Smith." Nathan Smith (II) died in 1684. His will, dated 15 April 1684 and proved 1 September 1684 (Annapolis, Liber 4, folio 50), left "Smith's Delight" to his wife Margaret, and "Dan" and "Jericho" to his son Thomas Smith.

Margaret Smith in 1684 or 1685 married secondly Thomas Tench Esquire of Anne Arundel County. On 8 October 1685 there is notice of Thomas Tench and Margaret his wife (daughter-in-law of Nathan Smith [I]) and the "espowsalls betwixt them celebrated" (Annapolis, Prov. Ct. Judg., Liber DSA, folio 164). In his will, dated 29 March 1708, with no probate date (Annapolis, Liber 12, folio 232), Thomas Tench gave and devised "unto Nathan[3] Rigbie son of James[2] Rigby & Grandson to my first wife all my lands within this province." The name of the second wife of Thomas Tench is not known. The will of Margaret (Smith)

Tench, mother of Elizabeth (Smith) Rigbie, is dated 25 March 1684 and was proved 20 June 1694 (Liber 7, folio 16).

In his day Thomas Tench was an important figure in Maryland. He was Justice of Anne Arundel County, appointed 4 September 1686 (*Arch.*, XIII, 242), and member of the Governor's Council from 1692 to his death in 1708 (*ibid.*, VIII, 305 *et seq.*). At a Council held in Annapolis on 26 June 1702 he was appointed President of the Council, and was acting governor from the time of Blackiston's sailing for England in July 1702 until the arrival of Seymour in 1704 (*ibid.*, XXV, x, 122). On 3 April 1708, "Mr Thomas Tench president of her Ma^{tys} Councill" was noted as "being dead" (*ibid.*, XXV, 240), and he was buried in St. James' churchyard on 7 April 1708 (St. James' Register, 1682-1869, 333, Md. Hist. Soc.).

Both James Rigbie and his step father-in-law Thomas Tench were vestrymen of St. James' Parish. In 1694 a meeting of the vestry was held at the house of the "Hon^{ble} Thomas Tench"; and in 1701 a petition of the vestrymen was read "praying an Act of Assembly to Oblige and Impower Thomas Tench Esq^{r} to lay out & Ascertaine one hundred Acres of Land given the Church of that Parish by Mrs Elizabeth Rigby & her Husband Mr James Rigby" (Vestry Proceedings, 1695-1793, 2, 3, 70, 111, Md. Hist. Soc.).

The will of James Rigbie, dated 8 November 1700 and proved 4 December 1700 (Annapolis, Liber 11, folio 12), mentioned his (step) father-in-law Thomas Tench, and three sons not twenty-one years old, viz.: Nathan,[3] James,[3] and Thomas[3] Rigbie; and his cousins Catherine Ceely, Thomas and Nathan Smith.

The children of James and Elizabeth (Smith) Rigbie were orphans, of whom Thomas Tench was the guardian (Annapolis, Accounts and Inventories, Liber 32A, folio 82). They were as follows:

3. I. NATHANIEL[3] RIGBIE, born 28 April 1695; died after 1753 (*of whom later*).

II. James[3] Rigbie, born 4 January 1696, baptized 26 June 1698 (St. James Parish Register, 1682-1869, p. 299). By his wife Elizabeth he had a son Nathan[4] Rigbie, born 8 January 1742 in Harford County, Maryland (St. George's Parish Register and Vestry Proceedings, 1681-1799, p. 349). There is record of a James Rigbie in 1709

giving twenty pounds sterling " to be laid out in good and godly books " to the parochial library of St. James Church, and it is presumed that James [3] Rigbie was meant.

III. Thomas [3] Rigbie. In 1702 a Thomas Rigbie had an unpatented certificate for " Dallams Neglect," one hundred and fifty acres in Harford County (Annapolis, Cert. 113).

3. NATHANIEL [3] RIGBIE (*James,*[2] *James* [1]), the eldest son, was born 28 April 1695, and died after 1753 (Annapolis, Adm. Accounts, Liber 33, folio 350). From the records it is evident that he married thrice. His first marriage was on 28 January 1715; the girl's name is unknown (St. James Parish Register, 1682-1869, p. 291). In 1717 he married second, Cassandra Coale, Jr., at West River Friend's Meeting (West River Records, 1677-1771, Book A, Minutes, pp. 98, 100; Annapolis, Adm. Accounts, Liber 12, folio 393). By 1753 he had married third, Sabina Rumsey of Cecil County, whose will was dated 16 October 1776 and proved 18 September 1779 (Bel Air, Liber AJ#R, folio 8; Annapolis, Adm. Acc., Liber 33, folio 350). She was the widow of William Rumsey and the daughter of Colonel Benjamin Bladenburg (" Account of Colonel Nathan Rigbie by Albert Silver " (1895), *q. v.*).

It was Cassandra Coale, Jr., who was the mother of the ten children of Nathaniel Rigbie. She was the daughter of Philip Coale and Cassandra Skipwith, his wife, and she died in 1745 (*Narrative*). Philip Coale was the grandson of Lieutenant Philip Thomas, a Parliamentary Commissioner governing Maryland (1657) under Oliver Cromwell, Lord High Protector of England (West River Records, p. 24; Annapolis, Warrants, Liber, A, folio 318; Wills, Liber 2, folio 350; Deeds, Liber 3, folio 260; *Arch.,* X, 493-4). Cassandra Skipwith was the daughter of George Skipwith, of " Silver Stone " in Anne Arundel County (*Gen. Soc. Penna. Publ.,* X; Rent Rolls, Anne Arundel County).

In 1708 Nathaniel Rigbie inherited from his step grandfather-in-law Thomas Tench " Phillips Purchase," a two-thousand-acre tract originally surveyed 15 July 1683 for James Phillips, and in 1707 possessed by Thomas Tench. The tract lay on the west side of the Susquehanna River at the present site of Darlington, Har-

ford County. In 1728 Nathaniel Rigbie sold five hundered acres of this land to Gerard Hopkins, one hundred to Thomas Jones, and in 1731 two hundred to Henry Coale. In 1739 he gave a small part of it to the Quakers for the building of their meeting-house at Deer Creek (Rent Rolls, Baltimore County; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII, 14). Nathaniel Rigbie also owned with his brother James the following properties in Baltimore County: "Rigby," "The Range," "Covell," "Untried [United] Friendship," "Smith's Desire," "Pole Minineck"; and in Anne Arundel County, "Jericho," "Dan," "Burrage," "Smith's Delight," "Lords County," "Poplar Ridge." He owned singly, "Brownton" in Anne Arundel County, and "Indian Fields," "Rigbie's Chance," and "Rigbie's Hope" in Harford County. In aggregate, these lands contained approximately seven and a half thousand acres.

In 1735, Nathaniel Rigbie was lieutenant-colonel of "all the Horse Militia" in Baltimore County, which at that time included the present Harford County as well (Annapolis, Deeds, Liber HWS#M, folio 312). In 1736 he was justice of the peace of Baltimore County (*Arch.*, XXVIII, 98) and in 1738 high sheriff of Baltimore County (*ibid.*, XL, 591). In 1744 he, and his son Nathaniel Rigbie, Jr., were signers of the treaty with the Six Nations of Indians at Lancaster (*Virginia Magazine*, XVIII, 397; *Arch.*, XLIV, 122).

Nathaniel and Cassandra (Coale) Rigbie had issue as follows:

4. I. James [4] Rigbie, born 1720; died 6 January 1790 in his seventieth year (*of whom later*).

II. Nathaniel [4] Rigbie, Jr., born 18 June 1723 (St. George's Parish, Harford County, Register, p. 332, Md. Hist. Soc.); died 1784 (Bel Air, Wills, Liber AJR#8, folio 18, dated 8 December 1783, proved 10 June 1784). He married on 27 August 1747 Sarah Giles, daughter of Jacob and Joanna Giles of Harford County (Annapolis, Wills, Liber 2, folio 244; Nottingham M. M. Records), and had two daughters, Hannah [5] and Cassandra [5] Rigbie. About 1767 Cassandra [5] Rigbie married Jeremiah Sheridine. On 4 June 1767 she was disowned by Deer Creek Friend's Meeting (Deer Creek Records, Book A). They had a child, Nathan Rigbie Sheridine (Annapolis,

Wills, Liber 40, folio 403). Nathaniel [4] Rigbie, Jr., at one time was acting sheriff of Baltimore County in place of his brother, Colonel James Rigbie (*Narrative*), and was interested with his father-in-law Jacob Giles in the iron business in Pennsylvania. He was for many years part owner and manager of Cumberland Forge near Stafford. Wilson Mill on Deer Creek was built by him. His death occurred in his sixty-first year ("Account of Colonel Nathan Rigbie," by Albert Silver (1895), *q. v.*).

III. John [4] Rigbie, died 1767 in Cecil County. His will was dated 20 July 1766, and proved 20 May 1767 (Annapolis, Liber 35, folio 392). He married Henrietta Rumsey and had but one child, Nathan [5] Rigbie, who did not long survive (Bel Air, Wills, Liber AJ#R, folio 8).

IV. Thomas [4] Rigbie. He operated an iron forge on Deer Creek in Harford County.

V. Philip [4] Rigbie. He was mentioned in the will of his brother John [4] Rigbie.

VI. Skipwith [4] Rigbie, died about 1754. He was deputy surveyor of Baltimore County, 18 March 1749, and surveyor of Baltimore County in 1750 and 1754 (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, XV, XXIV, XXVI).

VII. Elizabeth [4] Rigbie. She married before 1748 William Smith.

VIII. Cassandra [4] Rigbie. She married in 1780 a Mr. Webster.

IX. Ann [4] (Anna) Rigbie, born 1 March 1735 (St. George's Parish, Harford County, Register and Vestry Proceedings). She was admitted a member of Deer Creek Friend's Meeting on 2 November 1762, and she married in 1768 Samuel Willits (Deer Creek M. M. Records).

X. Susan [4] Rigbie. She married William Rumsey. It is possible that she may have been the Susannah Rigbie who married 19 July 1759 in Harford County a man by the name of John Deaver.

4. JAMES [4] RIGBIE (*Nathaniel,*[3] *James,*[2] *James* [1]), author of the *Narrative,* was born in 1720 and died in Harford County on 6

January 1790 (Census of 1776; *Narrative;* " Some Account of Our Esteemed Friend James Rigbie . . .," *MS* at Park Avenue Friends' Meeting; Nottingham Friends' Records, Births and Deaths, 1691-1883, p. 69). His will is dated 3 October 1788 and was proved 24 January 1791. (Bel Air, Liber AJ#R, folio 31). He married first, in 1741, Elizabeth Harrison, the daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Hall) Harrison of " Holly Hill," one of the best examples of colonial mansions in Southern Maryland. The date of Elizabeth Harrison's marriage is given in the *Narrative.* Samuel Harrison (died 1733) was the son of Richard Harrison, one-time " lord " of Abbington Manor (1709) in Calvert County, and his wife Elizabeth Smith. Sarah (Hall) Harrison was the daughter of Elisha Hall and his wife Sarah Hooper Winggfield, and her will, dated 25 November 1741 and proved 23 February 1742 (Annapolis, Liber 22, folio 421), bequeathed all her " wearing apparel to be Equally Divided " among her daughters " Sarah Harrison, Elizabeth Wife of James Rigby & Mary Harrison."

After the death of his first wife, Elizabeth (Harrison) Rigby, on 22 July 1759 (Nottingham and Deer Creek Records), James Rigbie married second on 5 February 1761 Sarah Massey (born 1734, died 1783; Deer Creek Marriages), widow of Aquilla Massey, and daughter of Isaac Bolton, of Bucks County, Pennsylvania (" Account of Colonel Nathan Rigbie," by Albert Silver (1895), *q. v.; History of Byberry*: Nottingham M. M. Records). In 1752 Sarah Massey was acknowledged a Minister among Friends.

According to the *Narrative,* James Rigbie in 1740 was chosen to succeed his father as high sheriff of Baltimore County. There is record of his service as sheriff of this county for 1742 (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* XX, 264) and for 1744 and 1745 (*Arch.,* XXVIII, 387; XLII, 482; XLIV, 49, 353, 360, 494; L, 233). It is probable that he was sheriff from 1740 to 1745. In 1735 he was appointed lieutenant colonel of all the horse militia of Baltimore County (Annapolis, Deeds, Liber HWS#M, folio 312), and in 1744 he was colonel.

James Rigbie and his wife Elizabeth joined the Nottingham Friends in 1744, and he was soon (1745) appointed on a committee for the Meeting. In 1747 he was an overseer, and in 1748 a member of a committee to built the Bush River meeting-house. On 18 September 1749 the Bush River Preparative Meeting recom-

mended him as a minister. But, as indicated in the *Narrative,* he had occasional lapses which did not always give the Friends satisfaction. On 7th month, 1757, East Nottingham Friends' Meeting noted that " as James Rigbie has several times neglected to give an account of his care when appointed on Business by this meeting, Wm Cox is appointed to speak for him, that he may give reasons for such Neglect." In 1760 Rigbie cared for the meeting at Susquehanna; in 1765 he obtained a certificate from his own Deer Creek Meeting to visit the Yearly Meeting in Virginia; and in 1769 he obtained a certificate for the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

The children of James and Elizabeth (Harrison) Rigbie were:

I. Nathan [5] Rigbie, born 5 November 1742 (Nottingham Friends' Records); died March 1767 (Deer Creek Records).

II. Sarah[5] Rigbie, born 22 June 1744 (Nottingham Records). She married Samuel Wallace (Bel Air, Deed, 11 May 1805). Her father in his will left her his " large trunk."

III. Cassandra [5] Rigbie, born 15 January 1746; died before 16 February 1799 (Deer Creek Births and Deaths, 1761-1823, p. 6; Cecil M. M. Records, pp. 934, 1242, Md. Hist. Soc.). She married in January 1771 (Bel Air, Deed, 11 May 1805) John Corse (born 18 September 1729, died 16 February 1807), son of John and Susannah (Hanson) Corse (Course, Coursey) of " Hebron," near Betterton, Kent County, Maryland (Cecil M. M., p. 29), and had issue: Sarah Corse, who married Joseph Turner, Sr., of " Hebron," and had fifty-four great-grandchildren, including C. Y. Turner, the mural painter (see *The Turner Family* by the writer); John Corse, Jr., who married Susannah Coale; and James Rigby Corse who married Rebecca.

IV. Elizabeth [5] Rigbie, born 11 July 1748, died 29 April 1813 (Nottingham Records). She married 18 May 1769 William Coale, son of Skipwith Coale (Bel Air, Deed, 11 May 1805), and had issue as follows, Rigbie, Margaret, Susannah, Sarah, Elizabeth, James, William and Hannah Coale (Deer Creek Marriages, p. 13; Family Bible of James Coale of Darlington, Harford County).

V. Susannah [5] Rigbie, born 2 March 1751, died May 1826 (Nottingham Records). She married 8 October 1784 Joseph Brinton, of Lancaster County, Penna. (Bel Air, Deed, 11 May 1805; Deer Creek Marriages).

VI. Mary [5] Rigbie, born 15 October 1755, died January 1756 (Nottingham Records).

VII. James [5] Rigbie, Jr., born 27 December 1756 (Nottingham Records). His father's will (1788) left him the sawmill with twelve acres adjoining. In 1786 he bought a negro and was disowned by the Deer Creek Friends' Meeting. In 1796 he held a patent for twelve acres called "Rigbies Saw Mill" in Harford County (Annapolis, Liber IC#K, folio 675).

The children of James [4] Rigbie, and his second wife, Sarah Massey, were:

VIII. Massey [5] Rigbie, born 7 July 1762; died 16 March 1767 (Deer Creek Records). Another(?) Massey Rigbie appears to have signed the marriage certificate of Susannah Rigbie and Joseph Brinton in 1784.

IX. Ann [5] Rigbie, born 12 February 1764. She married 3 October 1783 Aquilla Massey, son of Jonathan and Cassandra Massey (Deer Creek Records; Bel Air, Deed, 11 May 1805). Under terms of her father's will, she received two hundred pounds sterling, two beds and two chests of drawers.

X. Mercy [5] Rigbie, born 17 March 1770 (Deer Creek Records). She was not mentioned in her father's will (1788) and in the deed (1805) above.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Delaware Continentals, 1776-1783. By CHRISTOPHER L. WARD. Wilmington, Delaware: Historical Society of Delaware, 1941. 620 pp. $3.75.

This is much more than a history of the Delaware Continentals. Since the Maryland and Delaware troops frequently served together, it is also an account of Maryland's part in the Revolution. During the campaigns in the North, John Haslet, in command of the Delaware regiment, and William Smallwood's Marylanders were often companions in arms. In the Battle of Long Island, the troops of Delaware and Maryland distinguished themselves, standing in their ranks for nearly four hours " with colours flying," and later, in the Battle of White Plains, these same troops lived up to their reputation for bravery.

Officers and soldiers of Maryland and Delaware also saw service together during the campaigns in the South. Typical is the entry in the Journal kept by William Seymour: " On the 16th of April, 1780, the Maryland Division with the Delaware Regiment, marched from their quarters near Morristown, in the State of New Jersey, under the command of the Honourable Baron de Kalb, being bound for Charlestown, South Carolina. . . . " According to the general's aide-de-camp, who was Nicholas Rogers of Baltimore, the baron was " a perfect Ariovistus, more than six feet all." Rogers also paid tribute to de Kalb's physical endurance, his sobriety and to his great courage.

The author, Mr. Ward, quotes from H. B. Carrington's book on the revolution in which the latter states that " from 1776 before Boston and through the entire war, the states of Maryland and Delaware were represented on nearly every battlefield. Although their troops were few in numbers, they were distinguished for valor. . . . " There were instances, however, which are noted in Mr. Ward's volume, when the Maryland troops did not deserve such praise. In the Battle of Guilford Court House, for example, the 2nd Maryland regiment " turned and ran." Curiously enough, in the same battle the 1st Maryland regiment won the highest praise. It was the first battle for the 2nd Maryland regiment: the 1st Maryland regiment had seen previous service.

According to Mr. Ward, " most historians picture the Marylanders as arrayed in brilliant uniform coats of scarlet faced with buff. But it seems that although some of its companies had, on their first organization in 1774, worn such daring imitations of the British uniform, when they joined the army in 1776, they were garbed more soberly in hunting-shirts or frocks of a brownish hue. Such shirts were the conventional wear of the riflemen of the Revolution. Their officers, however, wore the scarlet and buff."

From this book we learn much of the Maryland men who distinguished themselves during the Revolution, of John Eager Howard, Mordecai Gist,

Otho Holland Williams and many others. Especially graphic is the account of Howard's part in the Battle of Cowpens. Indeed any one interested in the part played by Maryland during the Revolution should not fail to read this book.

RAPHAEL SEMMES

Robert Carter of Nomini Hall. A Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century. By LOUIS MORTON. Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1941. 332 pp. $3.50.

To write a readable book based in great part on dry account books, commercial letters, and memoranda, is indeed a difficult task. But with what is known from other sources about Robert Carter of "Nomini Hall" and his social, political, and plantation environment and background, together with the day-by-day picture of this Carter family as revealed by Fithian in his *Journal*, a less drab picture of him and his household than is here presented, might reasonably have been expected. The heir to a very large and valuable landed estate which had come down to young Robert Carter from that hard-shelled, wealthy, picturesque old aristocrat, his grandfather Robert ("King") Carter, an education obtained at William and Mary College, two years spent in hitting the high spots in London in his early twenties, his return as the heir to "Nomini Hall," his marriage to Frances Tasker, daughter of the President of the Council of Maryland, his own membership on the Council of Virginia with a ten years' residence in the gay colonial capital at Williamsburg, and a very prominent family connection, would all seem to have combined to have justified a more colorful study of Robert Carter and his activities than is to be found here.

The principal interest which this volume has for us is as the key to the most complete business record in existence of a wealthy eighteenth century Virginia planter with large land and slave holdings, who was engaged not only in agriculture, but in plantation manufacturing, and in trading in and marketing the products of his fields and his workshops. Carter did not take a leading part in the public affairs of Virginia. In the Revolution he seems to have played safe, acquiescing in, without taking much part in, the stirring Revolutionary activities of that commonwealth.

In his later years we find Carter an introvert, and apparently ill at ease with his conscience, embracing in succession various religious beliefs. Brought up in the established church, in his early forties he became a Deist, at fifty he was an active evangelical Baptist, at sixty a Swedenborgian, which faith he in turn renounced because of his disagreement with the views of his co-religionists on the subject of animal hypnotism and other doctrines, and finally a few years before his death, which occurred in Baltimore at the age of seventy-six, we find him groping helplessly in search of some new unrealizable religious solace, although there seems to be no truth in the legend that he died a Roman Catholic.

Robert Carter was closely identified with Maryland in many ways. Through his marriage with Frances Tasker he held an important interest in the Baltimore Iron Works, from which by the sale of his share in 1786

he realized £20,000. Several of his daughters were sent to school in Baltimore. Baltimore became in his later years a marketing centre for the sale of his tobacco and other crops. In 1793, doubtless in order to join an active Swedenborgian group in this city, he removed to Baltimore, occupying a house at 37 Green (now Exeter) Street. His death occurred here in 1804.

In compiling and publishing such a book as this, the author and the editorial staff of the distinguished corporation under whose auspices this volume appears, should have seen to it that various errors relating to the genealogy of such a notable family as the Carters, errors which have appeared in print only too often before, should not have again been repeated. The Carter gravestones at Christ-Church, Lancaster County, show that "King" Carter had fifteen, not twelve, children as the author states, and that five, not four, were by his first wife, Judith Armistead, and ten, not eight, by his second wife, Betty Landon. The name of Frances Tasker, the wife of Robert Carter, the subject of this book, should not have been allowed to appear incorrectly on the legend of her portrait as Frances *Ann* Tasker. *Digges* is too important a name in the history of both Virginia and Maryland to appear incorrectly as *Diggs*. One has a right to expect better editing from Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated.

J. Hall Pleasants

The Continental Congress. By Edmund Cody Burnett. New York: Macmillan, 1941. 774 pp. $6.

No one could be better equipped than Dr. Burnett to write the definitive study of the proceedings of the Continental Congress. His years of research as editor of the collected writings of the members of that body have given him an intimacy with its affairs which is apparent in almost every page of this work. It is an exhaustive study—almost a day-by-day record—of the deliberations, debates, resolutions, and decisions of the first American federal legislature from the meeting of the First Continental Congress in September, 1774, to its final dissolution in 1789 after a new and stronger federal government had been established.

Yet, in large measure, the author has failed to probe beneath the surface of the bare record of the proceedings, to explain, or even more than barely recognize the underlying conflicts of personalities, economic groups and geographic sections which shaped and guided the debates on the floor of Congress and in the private correspondence of the members. Thus, the conflict between England and the colonies before July 2, 1776, is treated solely as a contest between two opposing constitutional theories, with no reference to the important economic factors which, as Professor Schlesinger and others have shown, so profoundly affected the course of political events in these years. Nor is any effort made to analyze the division between radicals and conservatives, in Congress and out, over such questions as independence, the proper distribution of powers between Congress and the states, the western land cessions, the federal impost, etc. Only the scantiest consideration is given to the influence of conflicts between rival

land companies, between southern planters and northern merchants, or between debtors and creditors, on the final decisions reached on these and other issues.

Notwithstanding these omissions, this work should prove to be of considerable value to students of the American revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods. What it lacks in critical analysis is made up for in its scholarly and detailed recording of a complicated chronology of events, which has heretofore been inadequately or insufficiently set down.

PHILIP A. CROWL

Princeton University

The Springs of Virginia. By PERCEVAL RENIERS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. 301 pp. $4.

Bath, Americanus, has nestled in the mountains of Virginia and West Virginia, with varying fortunes, from about 1830 to the present time.

Mr. Reniers describes the once fashionable tours of the numerous early springs. Planters from New Orleans, like statesmen from Washington, braved the hardships of the road, the dusty stagecoach, the wait in line to secure hotel accommodations, and the negotiations with local Malvolios. They later endured the tipping of slaves to secure a meal in the common dining hall, and the torture of the cramped quarters after the lodgings were obtained. To undergo these discomforts was somehow thought worthwhile by many heads of families.

The names include Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren, Pierce. Webster and Clay liked it well. It appealed to Washington Irving, Captain Marryat, and Francis Scott Key. Reverdy Johnson, J. H. B. Latrobe, Charles J. Bonaparte and Cordell Hull are on later lists. And Beauregard and Lee are not to be forgotten. John Barney, of Baltimore (third son of Commodore Joshua Barney, whose life was recently reviewed in this *Magazine*), was a leading Beau Nash in this Bath of the western world.

The health resorts became " scenes of constant revelry." Mr. Reniers says that the Virginia Springs were willing " to fly the banner of society above the banner of the invalids." The " matutinal hops," called the " morning germans," were but a part of the program of general gayety. Champagne might be drunk from a slipper. The original Gibson Girl was a belle of the Springs. There was a little gambling, a duel or so, but no politics.

Yet the Springs were more than a health resort, and more than a vacation round of gayety. They were a rendezvous for distinguished men and women of the day. It was hoped that they would be the solace for a troubled mind.

General Lee's cottage at the White still survives. It was here that Miss Christiana Bond of Baltimore knew him as her " realized King Arthur," and it was here that she joined him, in his never failing courtesy, to welcome the lonely War Governor of Pennsylvania.

Perhaps fifty miles from the caravanserai of the Greenbrier, at the

White, one remembers, is the other principal survivor—the Homestead, at the Hot, encircled always by a southern atmosphere.

Mr. Reniers has pleasantly told the story of this special phase of American life. It is worth preserving, and he has sought the sources.

GEORGE ROSS VEAZEY

Iron Men And Their Dogs. By FERDINAND C. LATROBE. Baltimore: Ivan R. Drechsler, 1941. 225 pp. $4.50.

Iron Men and Their Dogs is a history of the Bartlett-Hayward Division of the Koppers Company and its lineal predecessors covering over one hundred years of manufacturing accomplishments in Baltimore, many of which were and are of national significance.

The task of presenting an interesting story of a company engaged, during long periods of its activity, in producing specialized heavy machinery, which the average citizen never sees and would not understand if he did, is no mean one. The author has cleverly handled the problem by weaving into the story the extra curricular interests of the firm's executives, both past and present, in dogs, canvas back and terrapin. This is done in a way which not only makes good reading, but does not detract from the serious purpose of the book, in picturing how these men of iron have made industrial history for more than a century.

The company, during its long life, has made so many types of metal products—from decorative iron vases to gates for mammoth dams—that even the present book does not attempt to list them all. In early days, the Latrobe stove was one of its most interesting products, followed by the first cast iron building fronts. Intricate ornamental iron work, an example being the interior of the present Peabody Institute, at Baltimore, was also a once-upon-a-time specialty. Then there was the building of locomotives, later discontinued; gas holders and apparatus, of national fame; beet sugar refineries and a dozen other major products which space does not allow mentioning.

During the First World War the company was so active in the production of munitions that it became the largest employer of labor in Baltimore. In the present World War, it has again changed its peace time operations to one hundred per cent War production with the manufacture of anti-aircraft gun carriages, catapults to launch airplanes, and many other products of vital import. These, and also certain new products, which the company plans to manufacture after the War, receive adequate treatment. Obviously, the author has had an unusual wealth of material from which to select.

The lighter features of the book, which include a valuable short history of the Chesapeake Bay dog, are well handled. Some self-admitted experts on ducking have stated to the writer that if Mr. Bartlett actually shot sitting ducks, as stated, this fact should have been suppressed. Among other self-admitted experts, doubtless more informed or more honest, it arouses no qualm. Between the same experts there are also differences of

opinion as to the practical desirability of roasting terrapin as described. All of which only goes to show that the book has thoroughly interested its readers.

Finally, the many illustrations are superb and, in themselves, trace the story of the company and its many products from the earliest Victorian days to the present time. The book is an outstanding addition to the rather slim number of books bearing on the history of Baltimore from a manufacturing standpoint.

H. FINDLAY FRENCH

Augustine Herrmann, Beginner of the Virginia Tobacco Trade, Merchant of New Amsterdam, and First Lord of Bohemia Manor. By EARL L. W. HECK. Englewood, Ohio: The Author, 1941. 123 pp. $2.

Mr. Heck in the preface to his biography of Augustine Herrmann makes a statement which should serve as a caveat for any serious student of this early Marylander. "In preparing this record of Augustine Herrmann's life, we have endeavored to keep as closely as possible to the actual facts" (p. iv). In dealing with the early and obscure periods of Herrmann's life the author finds frequent recourse to such introductory phrases as: "We can assume that . . ." (p. 5), "It is likely that . . ." (p. 6), "It is possible that . . ." (p. 6), "He probably . . ." (pp. 8 & 19), "There is reason to believe . . ." (p. 28), and "It appears reasonably certain . . ." (p. 55). A few conjectures might be acceptable in a fluent biography intended for popular consumption, but Mr. Heck's work, with its strong genealogical bias, will probably have little appeal for the casual reader.

Some confusion exists in the author's mind as to the exact relationship between Mrs. Anna Hack and Augustine Herrmann. A rather extensive account of the Hack (also spelled "Heck") family is included in the chapter on the original families of Bohemia Manor.

Herrmann's map of Maryland, which is perhaps his greatest claim to fame, might well have received more attention. However, in commenting on the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute, which hinged in part on Herrmann's map, Mr. Heck uses one word too many. "Thus Maryland lost *only* 17 minutes of a degree of latitude of its original territory" (p. 73). A mere 4000 square miles in round figures; about one-fifth of its "original territory."

J. LOUIS KUETHE

Houses of Old Richmond. By MARY WINGFIELD SCOTT. Richmond, Va.: Valentine Museum, 1941. 332 p. $5.

In this well illustrated volume Miss Scott has preserved a record of Richmond's old houses, many of which survive only in photographs. The author has gone to the fire insurance companies, the land records office and to libraries for authentic documents with which to check information in the form of family tradition, and in so doing has avoided many errors. It is a work not only of a Richmonder with a sentimental interest in the city's past but of an accomplished scholar.

F. F. BEIRNE

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Inventory of Church Archives in the District of Columbia. Protestant Episcopal Church. Diocese of Washington. Volume I. *District of Columbia, Montgomery, Prince George's, Charles, St. Mary's, Counties, Maryland.* Prepared by District of Columbia Historical Records Survey. Washington, D. C.: The Survey, 1940. 382 pp. Mimeographed.

Inventory of the County and Town Archives of Maryland. No. 2. Anne Arundel County (Annapolis). Prepared by the Maryland Historical Records Survey. Baltimore: The Survey, 1941. 353 pp. Mimeographed.

Natural World. By ELEANOR GLENN WALLIS. Prairie City, Ill.: J. A. Decker, 1941. 41 pp. $1.50. [Poems].

Cagliostro, A Sorcerer of the Eighteenth Century . . . By HENRY RIDGELY EVANS. New and revised edition. New York: Macoy Publishing Co., 1941. 45 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

EARLY ACCOUNTS OF THE WRITING OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

A revision of Mr. Sonneck's *Report on The Star-Spangled Banner* is contemplated by the Library of Congress. As yet, aside from the documents in the Naval Records Library and a single brief letter from Key, no contemporary documents or accounts of the writing of the poem have turned up, and the story as commonly repeated is based on John S. Skinner's comments in the *Baltimore Patriot*, 1849 (reprinted in Vol. 32 of this *Magazine*), and Judge Taney's letter, used as preface to Key's poems in 1857—respectively 35 and 43 years after the event. The poem and its author were famous long before this, and its seems almost impossible that none of the people connected with the story wrote down an account of exactly what happened either in a letter to a friend or at the request of a magazine or newspaper editor. A careful search through available documents has been made but nothing thus far has been found. It is hoped, however, that some indefatigable researcher will have hit upon some such account in the course of examining family archives not yet in a public institution. If anything of the sort has turned up, the finder is most earnestly requested to notify the Music Division of the Library of Congress.

RICHARD S. HILL

HISTORY OF TOWSON TEACHERS COLLEGE

To review a book review may be to draw things rather fine. However, Dr. Becker's interesting article in the September, 1941, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* deserves mention on several accounts. It is not only a compact summarization of the development of teacher training in Maryland, but it presents a distinct contribution of its own. Furthermore, its very brevity, little more than a page in length, will attract the attention of the casual reader who would not feel enough interest in the subject to tackle the two books commented on. Thus, more people than

would otherwise give thought to the subject will learn about the growth of their own state's public school system.

Dr. Becker has in this way helped to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Towson College and for that the alumni of that institution should be duly grateful. On the other hand, some of them may wish corrected an erroneous impression conveyed by Dr. Becker's otherwise excellent review.

In the second paragraph of the review, Dr. Becker makes a direct reference to *Seventy-five Years of Teacher Education* written by a committee of the Alumni Association of the Towson College, under the chairmanship of Miss Lena VanBibber. The work is described by Dr. Becker as "a series of biographical sketches." This is a misleading statement, for such a characterization is exactly the reverse of the facts, as can be seen by an examination of the table of contents. Briefly, this little volume is written from a chronological and locational point of view: it deals with the origin in Maryland of teacher education, traces the development of the normal school, its changes of location, the changes in method and philosophy, and other trends over its seventy-five years of service. Personalities are mentioned here and there as certain individuals fit into the picture, but there is no attempt at a biographical approach. Indeed, such a point of view is entirely alien to the purposes of the committee.

CATHERINE L. MCHALE

Relative to the letter of Miss McHale in which she takes courteous exception to my use of the term "biographical sketches" in my review of the State Teachers College anniversary volume: perhaps the term was ill-chosen. What I meant to imply was that the various stages of the institution's history are grouped about the personalities of the men and women who successively administered it. It referred to the plan of the book, rather than to its content.

ERNEST J. BECKER

MARSH, BERRY, PRESTON ET AL.

Since its publication in the *Magazine*, June 1940, the author of "Four Gentlemen of the Name—Thomas Marsh" has received several letters which contribute significantly to the subject. For the permanent record that publication in the *Magazine* affords, the following are gratefully recognized.

Caroline Kemper Bulkley (Mrs. Louis C.) of Shreveport, Louisiana, writes that Mrs. Nugent's transcripts supply the original location of the particular Puritan group with which Thomas Marsh is identified in Virginia, and enable the following of a number of the families to other Virginia locations and to Maryland. She also gives a Virginia record variant of the name Margaret Harford as Margarett Starford.

Reverend Samuel M. Shoemaker, of New York, writes of the descent

of the Formans (of Rose Hill), the Chambers, the Houstons and the Ecclestons from the early Maryland Marshes.

Mrs. Frederick Schoenfeld (Virginia Berkley Bowie), of Wynnewood, Penn., contributes the date of the death of Margaret Marsh, daughter of the first Thomas Marsh, she who married first Richard Preston, Jr. and secondly William Berry. The date is February 16, 1688. Mrs. Schoenfeld also reports that William Berry was born in Virginia, 1635, and died in Talbot April 30, 1691. The marriage date is 1670 and the Berry children by this marriage were Benjamin, born October 23, 1670; Joseph, born February 24, 1673, and Richard and Thomas, twins, born November 19, 1678. Also she calls attention to Hulbert Footner's remark in *Charles' Gift* that William Berry married first a daughter of Richard Preston, and second, the widow of Preston's only son. Mrs. Schoenfeld asks if anyone can document the dates of the Berry children.

Mrs. Anne Middleton Holmes, of Norfolk, Conn., suggests that the first wife of William Berry was R(h)oder Preston and she points to the will of Richard Preston, 1669, in which a portion is left to James and William Berry, his grandchildren—all of which is consistent with the contribution by Mrs. Schoenfeld.

Then Mrs. Palmer Cushman (Ruth V.), of Wichita, Kansas, adds materially by contributing an extract from an unpublished manuscript by the late Judge Alexander Athey of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. This manuscript develops the date of birth of Sarah, daughter of Thomas Marsh II by his first wife, Margaret, and shows her marriage to George Athey and indicates some of their descendants. To quote—

> The records of Prince George's County, Md., show that on September 15, 1707, Elizabeth Marsh gave a deed of gift to her nephew, George Athey, Jr., "ye soun of George Athey Sr." (C. 192 P. G. Co.), March 7, 1708/10 (*sic*) Luke Gardner qualified as administrator of the estate of Captain George Athey, late of Prince George's County (Adm. Bonds I, 47), and on December 21, 1709/10 Sarah Athey, wife, and John Athey, son, attest the correctness of the inventory (B. B. I 154 P. G.). On February 17, 1723/24 George Athey made a deposition in Prince George's wherein he swore that he was the son of Captain George Athey and that he was then twenty-three years of age. Sarah Athey, his mother, in her deposition swore that she was then (1723) fifty-seven years of age (I, 542) showing that she was born in 1666. So we have George Athey, born in Galway, Ireland, in 1642, came to America in 1664, married Sarah Marsh . . .

Mrs. Cushman also suggests the interesting probability that Margaret, first wife of Thomas Marsh II, was born Sarah Neale, daughter of Dr. Jacob Neale by whose will, 1672, she and her husband are to have two-thirds of the estate.

Several correspondents call attention to the inconsistency between the text and the chart as to Sarah, daughter of Thomas Marsh II. The chart is correct, the text, next to last line, page 197, quoting Third Haven Records, should read "Mary (not Sarah) born 24th of the 10th month 1677."

There is another inconsistency between a date in the text and on the chart. The date of death of Richard Preston, Jr., correct in the text as 1669, is in error on the chart.

Of Sarah "ye friend of ye ministry," I still can only surmise. Mrs.

Cushman suggests that Sarah of Dr. Neale's will is Sarah, daughter of Thomas Marsh II. With her birth date now shown to be 1666, she was, of course, "under 16" in 1672, just as Dr. Neale says. But there is still the puzzle of Sarah Marsh who died in 1688, aged 10 years, 2 months and 18 days. (Md. Hist. Soc. T. H. Vol. 4, p. 166.)

Needless to say, I very greatly appreciate the response my article has aroused. It was written in 1932, but published in 1940. The review of it in the light of the comments received has renewed my own joy in working it out in the first place.

EMERSON B. ROBERTS

Arnold—Can anyone tell me (1) Who were the parents of Anthony Arnold, of Anne Arundel Co., whose will is found in the *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, Vol. 2, p. 45? (2) What was the maiden name of his wife Joanna?

Mrs. W. M. Sherard
1110 Fourth Ave., W.,
Hendersonville, N. C.

Bull—Can some one identify Rachel who married Jacob Bull of Baltimore County before 1717? Also Sarah who married between 1780 and 1790 Jacob Bull, *son* of John, grandson of above Jacob and Rachel? Jacob Bull (of John) moved from Harford Co., Md., to Washington Co., N. C. (later Washington Co., Tenn.), around 1790.

Mrs. Carroll G. Bull
3021 N. Calvert St.,
Baltimore, Md.

Childs—Information is sought concerning *John Enos Childs*, born either on a plantation outside of Rockville, Md., or in the mountains of Allegany Co. His father was Enos R., b. Md. Ap. 7, 1794. He married Eleanor V. Goss (in Charleston, S. C.), Dec. 14, 1819. The father of Enos R. Childs was Wm. Childs. He m. in 1781, d. in Aug. 1818, and the wife died about 1819. He lived on a plantation near Rockville, 120 acres later going to son Enos R. Enos R. d. in Baltimore Nov. 23, 1852. The first of the name in this country is said to have been Henry Child(s) who lived at Portland Manor, on property known as the Wickham and Pottenger's Discovery, part of which was bequeathed to his son Wm. Childs. There Henry died Dec. 12, 1767. John Enos Childs was educated in Baltimore and came across the plains in 1850 with Col. Hollister. When John E. left Maryland he deeded his mother his share of the property there.

Helen Sendrey
8255 Kirkwood Drive,
Hollywood, Calif.

Garretson—Atkinson—Cornelius Garretson, born 1756, married Dec. 26, 1776, at Elk Ridge, Maryland, Margaret Atkinson, born ————. Was she the daughter of Ichabode Atkinson, born 1714, married 1733, Priscilla Bailey, born Aug. 29, 1712?

Janet Hill Chetwynd (Mrs. J. W.),
1110 Pope Avenue, East Liverpool, O.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

ALBERT SILVERMAN, long a student of Governor Paca's career, is a native of Baltimore, a graduate of Johns Hopkins University, and an instructor at Baltimore Polytechnic Institute. ☆ JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER, son of the Librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, needs no introduction in these pages to which he has been a frequent contributor. ☆ Member of the staff of the Industrial Bureau of the Baltimore Association of Commerce, WILLIAM J. KELLEY has made extensive research into various phases of the industrial and commercial life of the city. ☆ HELEN I. COWAN, Canadian born American, now living in this city, is the author of *British Emigration to British North America* (1928) and *Charles Williamson, Genesee Promoter* (1941). ☆ Architect and author, HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN is head of the department of fine arts at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

December 8, 1941.—The regular meeting of the Society was held with President Radcliffe in the chair. A list of the donations was read. The following were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Frank A. Bach
Mrs. Aubry Edward
Mr. Walter D. Focke
Mrs. David Funsten
Mrs. John W. Harrison
Mrs. Elsie Clark Krug
Mr. John A. Luhn
Mrs. John O. Miller
Mr. George Fisk Needham
Mr. J. Harry Schisler
Mrs. G. A. Van Lennep

Associate

Mrs. Harry K. Corrick
Mr. Orloff Henry
Mrs. Charles Hibbard
Mr. Joseph Lee Hughes
Mr. James Hazen Hyde
Mr. Franklin F. Marsh

The following deaths were reported:

Mrs. A. P. Badger, on November 21, 1941
Dr. Jesse W. Downey, on November 18, 1941

Senator George Arnold Frick, on November 24, 1941
Mr. William A. Riordan, on December 6, 1941
Mr. Frederick C. Seeman, on December 1, 1941

Mrs. Adelyn D. Breeskin, of the Baltimore Museum of Art, read a paper on "A Century of Baltimore Art Collecting" (illustrated). The unanimous thanks of the Society were extended to the speaker.

January 12, 1942.—The regular meeting was called to order by President Radcliffe. A list of donations to the library and gallery was read, and the following new members were elected:

Active

Mr. Joseph H. Apple
Mrs. Howard Victor Hall
Miss Jessie L. Hodges
Hon. J. Ambrose Meyer
Mr. C. H. Small
Dr. Harry R. Warfel

Associate

Mrs. Lionel Atwill
Mr. E. Stanley Glines
Mr. William Gray Harman
Dr. Harry Kaufman
Mrs. Lawrence Woods Roberts
Mrs. W. E. Trout, Jr.

Mr. James E. Hancock made the nominations for the officers and members of the standing committees, to be voted upon at the annual meeting. The slate, as presented, renominated the officers elected in 1941.

These deaths were reported:

Mr. Thomas Hughes, on December 9, 1941
Mr. Karl A. M. Scholtz, on December 25, 1941

Mr. Hamilton Owens, Editor of the Baltimore *Sun*, presented in a delightful and naive manner the story of his experiences in writing the book, *Baltimore on the Chesapeake.* By rising vote the members expressed to Mr. Owens their thanks for his address.

February 9, 1942.—At a regular meeting with the President in the chair, the minutes of the last meeting and a list of the donations to the library and gallery were read.

The following persons, previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Thomas J. Claggett
Mrs. Oscar B. Coblentz
Mr. Charles Delmar
Mr. Joseph P. Healy
Miss Bertha Moulton Kidd
Mr. John Phelps
Mr. Robert A. Sindall
Miss Lena G. Townshend

Associate

Mr. C. Stewart Lee

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Mr. C. John Beeuwkes, on February 3, 1942
Mr. Charles Ellis Ellicott, on January 13, 1942
Mrs. Louis Hamman, on January 12, 1942
Captain John Saulsbury Short, on February 6, 1942

The principal speaker, Judge Henry D. Harlan, read a most interesting paper entitled "The Names of the Great Lawyers on the Frieze of the Supreme Bench Court Room," which he illustrated with lantern slide portraits. A rising vote of thanks was extended to Judge Harlan.

Mr. B. Howell Griswold announced that at a Special Meeting of the Society, to be held later this month, the Society would be addressed by Professor Samuel Eliot Morison, of Harvard University.

ANNUAL MEETING

February 9, 1942.—The Annual Meeting of the Society was called to order by the President, and Judge W. Calvin Chesnut was asked to preside during the election of officers. Judge Chesnut asked for a motion instructing the Secretary to cast the ballot for the nominations already made. The motion was offered by Mr. Ralph Robinson, seconded and unanimously carried. President Radcliffe resumed the chair. A motion to file the annual reports of the various committees without reading them was carried and the meeting then adjourned.

Reports of the Various Committees of the Society for 1941

Trustees of the Athenaeum

The budget allowance for the year was $2,000,00 and we have actually expended during the year for the items listed below a total of $1,496.86, leaving a balance of $503.14.

At the end of the heating season in May last it was found that major repairs were needed to the boilers if they were to be kept in use and it was decided to negotiate with the Consolidated Gas Electric Light & Power Company with a view to connecting the Society Building with their City steam mains, and eliminating our boilers entirely. The negotiation lasted through the summer, and the President of the Society was finally able to secure a most favorable contract, which was duly approved by the Council, and the building is now fully connected to this new service. It is believed that those using the building daily will find this new service a great improvement over the heating of past years.

Other expenditures have been of a routine maintenance nature, and the balance shown is of course due to the fact that it was not necessary to purchase coal for the season. Following is a detailed statement of the expenditures:

Budget allowance		$2,000.00
Repairs	$ 173.73	
Fuel	175.53	
Electric light	248.93	
Insurance	257.00	
Supplies	154.71	
Water Rent	38.40	
A. D. T. alarm system	448.56	
		1,496.86
Balance		$ 503.14

G. Corner Fenhagen, *Chairman.*

Committee on the Gallery

From Mrs. W. Duncan McKim the Society, during the year 1941, received one of the most important donations to the gallery. Mrs. McKim is the wife of the late Dr. W. Duncan McKim, who was born in Baltimore on February 14, 1855. Dr. McKim was the son of Haslett and Sally (Birckhead) McKim. Among the paintings included in the collection is one of Isaac McKim, a leader in the commercial and industrial life of Baltimore during the early nineteenth century whose ships were on every sea. It was Isaac McKim who planned the *Ann McKim*, a vessel which anticipated the famous clipper ships.

Other portraits and miniatures donated to the Society by Mrs. McKim included those of Augustus McKim, Susan Haslett McKim, Hugh Birckhead, Catherine Augusta Birckhead, Augusta McEvers Birckhead and Haslett McKim and his wife. There is also a painting of the late Dr. W. Duncan McKim himself.

Among other important donations to the gallery during the past year was a replica of the Portland Vase, the original of which is in the British Museum, in London. This was given in memory of the late John W. M. Lee, who was librarian of the Society from 1877 to 1892. The vase came from the Estate of Mrs. Elsie Lee Zimmerman, Mr. Lee's daughter, and was donated by his granddaughter, Mrs. Lucinda Coryell.

Other donors during 1941 include Miss Elinor McGuire, Miss Lucy Williams, Mrs. Randolph Winslow, Mrs. Dabney Baker, Mr. Milton J. Firey, Mr. W. Edwin Moffett and Dr. Levin P. Palmer.

During the past year the Society cooperated with the Rochester Memorial Art Gallery, the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia, the Baltimore Museum of Art, and the Municipal Museum, also in this city, by lending paintings or drawings to these institutions for exhibitions which they arranged.

The Society is indebted to Miss Elizabeth Packard, Mr. Carl D. Clarke and Mr. Jack Carroll Kirby for their kindness and generosity in volunteering to restore some of the paintings in the possession of the Society.

John H. Scarff, *Chairman.*

Committee on the Library

Collections containing genealogical data were among the most important acquisitions made by the library during the year 1941. Mrs. Cooley and Mrs. Badger, daughters of the late Percy G. Skirven, presented to the Society in memory of their father all of the genealogical information which he had collected during his lifetime as well as much interesting material on historical subjects. From Mrs. Carroll E. France the Society received the genealogical collection of the late Henry I. Kirk and from Mrs. Bowie, a collection of the same kind made by her husband, the late Walter Worthington Bowie. Mrs. Russel Hastings also gave her genealogical notes on the Calvert, Darnall, Carroll and other Maryland families to the library.

As for manuscript collections, the Society was very fortunate in receiving as a gift from Miss Katherine Cradock many of the letters and papers of Anna Ella Carroll, known as the "great unrecognized member of Lincoln's Cabinet." The library was the recipient of several interesting items from Messrs. Joseph Katz and Gilman Paul, receiving from the former certain private memoranda relating to the affairs of Robert Gilmor, and, from Mr. Paul, a manuscript diary and letter book of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Messrs. J. Nicholas Shriver, Jr., and A. Russell Slagle donated to the Society a number of account books. From the estate of Mary E. Redwood, the library acquired interesting data, including the letters of her son, the late Lieutenant George B. Redwood.

Additions to the library's collections during the past year consisted of over three hundred books, many pamphlets, broadsides and maps. Mr. B. King Shaner gave some interesting Civil War broadsides, while Mr. W. A. Hildebrand donated an original playbill of the theater in Baltimore on December 12, 1782.

Mr. Louis H. Dielman added to the Society's already large and valuable collection of sheet music, known as the L. H. Dielman Collection and begun by him about 1928. During 1941 Mr. Dielman presented to the library over seven hundred pieces of sheet music, as well as a number of Maryland imprints and many other interesting items.

A partial list of other donors follows: Mrs. W. Duncan McKim, Mrs. Alexius McGlannan, Mrs. T. Courtney Jenkins, Mrs. I. B. Hendry, Miss Grace Carroll, Miss Margery Whyte, Miss Bessie Porter, Miss Grace Vernon Smith; Messrs. G. Corner Fenhagen, Lockwood Barr, H. C. Huberick, A. A. Martin, William D. Hoyt, Jr., Frederick J. Singley, Thomas R. Herring, Howard and Harvey Davis, Colonel Oscar Kemp Tolley, Drs. Harry Friedenwald and George C. Keidel, and the Rev. Dr. R. L. Shipley.

Western Maryland College, Blue Ridge College and Notre Dame of Maryland College donated to the library a number of their catalogues and bulletins for the past years. The following institutions or organizations also made gifts to the Society: The John Carter Brown Library, the Charleston (S. C.) Museum, The School Board of Baltimore, the Enoch

Pratt Free Library, the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, and the Major William Thomas Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

GENEALOGICAL BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS RECEIVED 1941

Tipton Family of Maryland. Compiled by the donor, Mr. Lockwood Barr.
List of Burials copied from the diary of Rev. John Coleman, by Miss Doris M. Rowles.
Gates and Allied families. Gift of Mr. Charles G. Dawes.
William and Elizabeth Austin and their living descendants. Compiled by the donor, Mr. Albert M. Austin.
Stow family and allied branches. Compiled by the donor, Mr. John Carroll Stow.
The Baldwins of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Gift of Mr. C. Columbus Baldwin.
Wills and Marriages of Fauquier county, Virginia, 1759-1800. Abstracts of Wills of Loudoun county, Virginia, 1757-1800. Gifts of Mr. John Carroll Stow.
Rust of Virginia, 1654-1940. Gift of Mr. E. Marshall Rust.
Grace-Manly-Rutter-Price-Webb-Wallis families. MS compiled by the donor, Mrs. Stuart Ernest Catling.
Unpublished Revolutionary Records of Maryland, compiled by Mrs. Margaret Roberts Hodges. Gift of the Major William Thomas Chapter, D. A. R.
The Squires of Maryland. MS genealogy compiled by the donor, Mr. W. H. T. Squires.
Descendants of the Rev. Francis Higginson. Gift of Mrs. Augustus H. Eustis.
Ebaugh genealogy. Compiled by the donor, Mr. John Lynn Ebaugh.
Hambleton Family chart, compiled by the late Dr. Thomas E. Sears. Gift of Miss Lula Gray Auld.
Photostat copies of the Edward Day Bible records. Gift of Mrs. George Harrison.
Nicholson and Brent family notes. Compiled by Mrs. Alice Harris Brent.
Wathen family history (MS); and the Sollers and allied families (MS). Gift of Mrs. Thomas S. George.
Carmack and Clabaugh family bibles. Gift of Miss Hattie C. Roberts.
The Jamesons in America (1901). Gift of Mr. Francis J. Baldwin.
Bramball, Bramble and allied families. Compiled by the donors, Irene Bramel and Wesley Ziegler.
Landsdale family of Maryland (typewritten). Gift of Edwin P. Davis.
Family of George Wood Woolsey and his wife Sarah Nelson Woolsey, by Hester (Woolsey) Brewer.
The Stones of Paynton Manor, by H. W. Newman.
Norris Family Chart. Gift of Col. Oscar Kemp Tolley.
Data relating to the Skirven, Gemmill, Bard and allied families. Notes from the Estate of Percy G. Skirven.
Archer Family Chart. Gift of Mr. A. Russell Slagle.
McClure family of the Monongahela Valley. Gift of Mrs. H. P. Bray.
Manuscript genealogical collection of the late Henry I. Kirk.
Walter Worthington Bowie genealogical collection. Gift of Mrs. Walter Worthington Bowie.
The Hon. George Gray, 4th, of Philadelphia, His Ancestors and Descendants. Gift of the compiler, Mrs. Mary F. Field Liddell.
Day family of Calvert county, Md. Gift of the compiler, Mrs. J. C. Cole, Jr.
The Lamar or Lemar family history. Gift of Mr. Harold D. LeMar.
Dundas Family, and Descendants of Col. Thomas White. Gift of Mr. William White.
Philip Wagner and his descendants, 1807-1941. Gift of Mrs. E. T. Evans.
Charles Carroll of Carrollton family charts, compiled by Mrs. Mabel Lyman Knight. Gift of Mrs. Knight.
The Gentry Family of America, 1676-1909. Gift of Mrs. Charles Lindmueller.
The Harrisons of Skimino. Gift of Mr. Francis Burton Harrison.
Maternal ancestry of Grace Vernon Smith in descent from Anthony LeCompte. Gift of Miss Smith.
Genealogical data relating to the McKim, Haslett, Birckhead and allied families. Gift of Mrs. W. Duncan McKim.
Four old families of Williamsport, Maryland. Compiled by the donor, William Alexander Miller.
Captain Jonathan Farren and some of his descendants, by Frank Myer Ferrin. Gift of Miss Mary A. Brennan.
Boyd Family Bible and other records. Gift of Mrs. A. F. Blakeslee.
Notes of the Copeland Genealogy. Gift of Mr. C. F. Copeland.
Virginia Genealogical and County Records, vols. 1-3.
Maryland Genealogical and Historical Records, vols. 1-3. Gift of Mrs. Annie Walker Burns.

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, *Chairman.*

COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES AND LITERARY ENTERTAINMENT

During the year 1941 many interesting addresses were given before the regular meetings of the Society. The Chairman is glad to record the names

of the various speakers and the subjects of their talks. As is evidenced by the accounts of the monthly meetings, all these lectures received much favorable comment.

January 13, "The Continental Congress in Maryland: Baltimore 1776-1777; Annapolis, 1783-1784." By General John Philip Clayton Hill.

February 10, Annual Meeting. No lecture.

March 10, Dr. Archibald MacLeish, well known writer and Librarian of Congress, spoke of the collections of the Library of Congress and their value to students and research workers.

April 14, "Smallwood's Retreat." By Mr. Charles Stephenson Smith.

May 5, "On the Preservation of Historical Manuscripts." By Dr. Charles McLean Andrews, of Yale University.

October 13, "Present-Day Care of Manuscript Materials." By Dr. Morris Leon Radoff, Archivist of the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

November 10, "A Library of Four Generations." Written by Mr. John W. Garrett, and read by his niece, Mrs. Johnson Garrett.

December 8, "A Century of Baltimore Art Collecting." By Mrs. Adelyn D. Breeskin, of the Baltimore Museum of Art.

B. Howell Griswold, Jr., *Chairman.*

Committee on Membership

January 1, 1941:		
Life members	18	
Associate members	141	
Active members	988	
	—	1147
New Members, 1941:		
Associate	25	
Active	125	
	—	150
		1297
Members lost during 1941:		
Died	25	
Resigned	18	
Dropped	10	
	—	53
		1244
Net gain		97
December 31, 1941:		
Life members	18	
Associate members	166	
Active members	1060	
		1244

Rosamond Randall Beirne, *Chairman.*

Committee on Publication

The fifty-seventh volume of the *Archives of Maryland,* edited by Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, with Louis Dow Scisco as associate editor, appeared in 1941. It contains the Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland

for the years 1666 through 1670 and is the eighth volume of the Court sub-series and the fifth of the Provincial Court records.

The entire cost of this volume was $4,863.90. The State appropriation for the year 1940 was $4,175.00, the difference between the two figures having been made up from a fund in the hands of the Society received from sales of the Archives in past years.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine*, edited by James W. Foster, completed its thirty-sixth year. The volume of 481 pages has been equalled in size only once before, and compares with the average for the past five years of 414 pages. Income and expenses of the *Magazine* were as follows:

MAGAZINE

Budget allowance		$2,000.00
Advertising revenue	$470.88	
Sale of single copies	249.65	
		720.53
		$2,720.53
Expenses		
Printing 4 issues	$2,157.15	
Editing 4 issues	200.00	
Commission on advertising revenue	91.36	
Indexing	50.00	
Postage	81.11	
Engravings	69.98	
Mailing envelopes	27.72	
		2,677.32
		$ 43.21

RAPHAEL SEMMES,
For the Committee.

TREASURER'S REPORT

GENERAL ACCOUNT

Balance on hand January 1, 1941			$ 1,354.05
Receipts			
Dues from members		$ 5,730.00	
Income from Peabody Fund		772.50	
Income other than from Peabody Fund		2,796.57	
Income from Athenaeum Fund		3,169.02	
Income from Audubon Fund		210.00	
Confederate Relics		50.00	
Publication Committee		473.28	
Library Committee		177.90	
Magazine Committee		247.25	
General Account		1,140.82	
General Account—Mary B. Redwood bequest		3,924.32	
Securities:			
$4,000. U. S. Treasury 3⅜s called	$ 4,000.00		
$10,000. Arundel Bond Corp. sold	10,000.00		
8% distribution on $2,000. Mortgage Security Corporation Series "B" in Liquidation	160.00	14,160.00	32,851.66
			$34,205.71

Disbursements

General Account:			
Salaries		$ 7,851.26	
Trustees		1,496.86	
Office		360.46	
Treasurer		29.15	
General		867.35	
Special		333.02	
Magazine Account	$ 2,157.15		
Library Committee	469.70		
Publication Committee	534.67		
Securities Purchased (see investment account)	15,599.81		
	$18,761.33	18,761.33	29,699.43
Balance on hand December 31, 1941			$ 4,506.28

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Uninvested Funds January 1, 1941			$ 1,322.87
Credits			
$ 4,000. U. S. Treasury 3⅜s called		$ 4,000.00	
10,000. Arundel Bond Corporation sold		10,000.00	
8% Distribution on $2,000. Mortgage Security Corporation Series "B" in Liquidation		160.00	14,160.00
			$15,482.87
Debits			
$ 8,000. U. S. Defense Ser. "G" bonds		8,000.00	
2,000. U. S. Treasury 2% bonds, 1947		2,131.61	
600. American Tel. & Tel. debentures		600.00	
30 shares American Tel. & Tel		4,868.20	15,599.81
Balance (overdrawn) December 31, 1941			$ 116.94

STATE OF MARYLAND—ARCHIVES ACCOUNT

Balance on hand January 1, 1941			$ 6,110.59
Receipts			
State of Maryland		$ 2,262.14	
General		143.00	2,405.14
			$ 8,515.73
Disbursements			
Lord Baltimore Press		$ 1,393.57	
General		1,293.37	2,686.94
Balance on hand December 31, 1941			$ 5,828.79

State of Maryland appropriation for 1941			$ 4,175.00
Paid to the Society		$ 2,262.14	
Lord Baltimore Press		1,912.86	
		$ 4,175.00	$ 4,175.00

HEYWARD E. BOYCE, *Treasurer.*

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HONORARY MEMBERS

Ames, Joseph S. (1937) ..... Charlcote Place, Guilford, Baltimore
Andrews, Charles McLean, Ph.D. (1938) .. 424 St. Ronan St., New Haven, Conn.
Eden, Captain Anthony (1939) ..... 17 Fitzhardinge St., W. I., London, Eng.
Marsden, R. G. (1902) ..... 13 Leinster Gardens, London, Eng.

LIFE MEMBERS

Brevitt, Mrs. Katherine Mackenzie (1935) ..... } Hotel Altamont, Baltimore
Cain, Mrs. Mary Clough (1922) ..... Church Hill, Md.
Calvert, Charles Exley (1911) ..... 34 Huntley St., Toronto, Canada
Davis, George Harvey (1927) ..... 14 E. Biddle St., Baltimore
Dick, Mrs. Frank M. (1933) ..... Cambridge, Md.
Gaither, Miss Ida Belle (1935) ..... Elizabethtown, N. Y.
Howard, Miss Elizabeth Gray (1916) ... 901 St. Paul St., Baltimore
Jeanes, Mrs. Joseph Y. (1931) ..... Villa Nova, Pa.
Littlejohn, Mrs. Robert M. (1916) ..... 2 E. 88th St., New York City
Loyola College Librarian ..... Loyola College, Baltimore
Marburg, Miss Emma (1917) ..... Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore
Morris, Lawrence J. (1927) ..... 240 S. 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Shirk, Mrs. Ida M. (1913) ..... { Care of R. C. Faust, Central Union Trust Bldg., 42nd St. & Madison Ave., New York City
*Short, Capt. John Saulsbury (1919) .... 38 E. 25th Street, Baltimore
Shriver, J. Alexis (1931) ..... Bel Air, Md.
Sudler, Miss Elizabeth T. (1940) ..... Salisbury, Md.
Williams, Miss Nellie C. (1917) ..... 50 Riverside Drive, New York City
Woodward, William (1935) ..... One Wall Street, New York City

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Bell, Herbert C. (1899) ..... R. D. Route, No. 4, Springfield, O.
Black, J. William, Ph. D. (1898) ..... Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
Brooks, William Gray (1895) ..... 257 S. 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Brown, Henry John (1908) ..... 4 Trafalgar Sq., London, W. C., Eng.
Cockey, Marston Rogers (1897) ..... 117 Liberty St., New York City
Ford, Worthington C. (1890) ..... 1154 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
Hall, Hubert (1904) ..... Public Record Office, London
Hersh, Grier (1897) ..... York, Pa.
Stevenson, John J. (1890) ..... 215 West End Ave., New York City
Wood, Henry C. (1902) ..... Harrodsburg, Ky.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Adams, Harrington (1934) ..... Bethlehem Trust Bldg., Bethlehem, Pa.
Anderson, Bart (1940) ..... 100 High St., West Chester, Pa.
Andrews, Charles Lee (1911) ..... 42 Broadway, New York City
Auld, Miss Lula Gray (1935) ..... Danville, Va.

* Deceased.

Baker, Mrs. Allan L. (1938) ..... 348 E. Foster Ave., State College, Penna.
Baker, Mrs. C. H. (1927) ..... 1080 Arden Rd., Pasadena, Cal.
Barr, Lockwood (1940) ..... 20 Beech Tree Lane, Pelham Manor, N. Y.
Bell, Mrs. Louise V. (Annie Megrue) (1930) ..... } 209 West 89th St., New York City
Bennett-Baird, O. Josephine, M. D. (1931) ..... } La Salle Apts., Washington, D. C.
Biggs, John S. (1941) ..... 6225 32nd Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Bingham, Robert F. (1941) ..... 2891 Paxton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio
Bloom, Mrs. Sarah F. (1929) ..... Vienna, RFD, Va.
Boden, Mrs. Harry Clark (1941) ..... 29 W. Park Place, Newark, Del.
Boice, Mrs. Edmund S. (1941) ..... 534 Falls Rd., Rocky Mount, N. C.
Bouvier, Mrs. Henrietta J. (1919) ..... 580 Park Ave., New York City
Bouvier, Maj. John Vernou (1940) ..... 52 Broadway, New York City
Britton, Mrs. Winchester (1932) ..... Cranford, N. J.
Brown, Alexander C. (1939) ..... Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va.
Bulkley, Mrs. Caroline (Kemper) (1926) ..... } 1044 Rutherford Ave., Shreveport, La.
Bullitt, William Marshall (1914) ..... { 1711 Kentucky Home Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Burns, Mrs. Annie Walker (1938) ..... { R1, Box 119, Benning Sta., Washington, D. C.
Butner, Mrs. Arthur L. (Estelle Shipley) (1940) } 1090 Arbor Road, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Byrne, Mrs. James (Olivia McGregor) (1939) ..... } 1088 Park Ave., New York City.
Carpenter, Mrs. Walter S. (1936) ..... Wilmington, Del.
Cecil, Arthur Bond, M. D. (1933) ..... 251 Muirfield Rd., Los Angeles, Calif.
Chaney, Mrs. Herbert M. (1936) ..... 2115 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Chew, Major Fielder Bowie (1934) ..... 1910 Biltmore St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Clark, Allen C. (1926) ..... Equitable Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Cooch, Mrs. Edward W. (1936) ..... Cooch's Bridge, Newark, Delaware
Cooke, George R. (1941) ..... 391 Country Club, Gross Point, Mich.
Corrick, Mrs. Harry K. (1942) ..... 4105 Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D. C.
Cox, Mrs. Merle Leroy (1942) ..... 142 Longfellow St., N. W., Wash. D. C.
Cox, Thomas Riggs (1938) ..... Southport, Connecticut.
Cullen, Vincent (1942) ..... 4 Albany St., New York City
Davidge, Walter Dorsey (1936) ..... 1826 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Davidson, W. F. (1940) ..... 14 E. 57th St., New York City
Dean, Joseph William (1934) ..... Kulpmont, Penna.
*Dearborn, Mrs. Frederick (1940) ..... 580 Park Ave., New York City
Deford, B. Frank (1914) ..... } 608 W. Franklin St., Richmond, Va.
Deford, Mrs. B. Frank (1916) ..... }
Dent, Louis Addison (1905) ..... 3300 16th St., Washington, D. C.
Dent, Magruder (1937) ..... Old Church Rd., Greenwich, Conn.
Dolan, John J. (1934) ..... 1323 30th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Donaldson, John W. (1927) ..... Millbrook, N. Y.
Dorsey, Vernon M. (1921) ..... 1346 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Eliason, Mrs. James T. (1930) ..... New Castle, Delaware
Engle, Mrs. Kline d'A. (1941) ..... 4019 Gilmore Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio
Ferrell, Mrs. Garland P. (1940) ..... Ferrell Ranch, Beaumont, Texas
Franklin, Robert S. (1931) ..... Charleston, W. Va.
Frazier, Mrs. John (1936) ..... { 8015 Navajo St., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
French, Mrs. W. E. Pattison (Evelyn Eva Sutton Weems) (1930) } 2101 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Gardner, Frank Williams (1934) ..... 1192 Cleveland Ave., Columbus, O.

* Deceased.

Gardner, Mrs. Philip (1934).....74 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.
Gibbons, Miss E. Nora (1940).....Redding, Conn.
Gifford, W. L. R. (1906).....St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, Missouri
Glenn, John M. (1905).....1 Lexington Ave., New York City
Glines, E. Stanley (1942).....120 Broadway, New York City
Goodrich, Thomas M. (1933).....Hotel Wellington, Albany, N. Y.
Gordon, Mrs. Burgess Lee (1916).....1921 E. Gales St., Seattle, Wash.
Gordon, Mrs. James Riely (Mary Lamar Sprigg) (1934).....159 Corliss Ave., Pelham Heights, N. Y.
Gould, Lyttleton B. P. (1936).....Ring's End Rd., Noroton, Conn.
Griffiss, Miss Penelope (1936).....Hotel Palton, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Griffith, Major Charles T., U. S. A. Ret. (1934).....6733 Emlen St., Germantown, Pa.
Gronemeyer, Mrs. Henry H. (1936).....Wawaset Park, Wilmington, Delaware
*Groome, H. C. (1926).....Airlie, nr. Warrenton, Va.
Grove, Mrs. J. R. (Katharine N.) (1934).....2636 Woodley Pl., N. W., Wash., D. C.
Guilday, Rev. Peter, Ph. D. (1915).....Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
Hager, Frank L. (1921).....204 Spring St., Fayette, Mo.
Halsey, Mrs. Van Rensselaer (1938).....“Briarwood,” Rumson, N. J.
Hamilton, Hon. George E. (1924).....Union Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Hammond, Edward Cuyler (1941).....5402 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.
Hannay, Wm. M. (1936).....207 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hanson, Murray (1936).....1010 Vermont Ave., Washington, D. C.
Harman, William Gray (1942).....815 1st Place, Plainfield, N. J.
Hastings, Mrs. Russel (1925).....230 E. 50th Street, New York City
Headman, Mrs. Mary Hoss (1934).....1000 Davenport Rd., Knoxville, Tenn.
Heaton, Mrs. Louise (1939).....P. O. Box 86, Clarksdale, Miss.
Heyn, Mrs. Walter (Minnie Watkins) (1929).....8 Holland Terr., Montclair, N. J.
Hill, John Sprunt (1936).....900 Duke St., Durham, N. C.
Himes, Joseph H. (1935).....1705 K St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hodgdon, A. Dana (1933).....American Consulate General, Naples, Italy
Hoffman, Wilmer (1929).....Church St., Charleston, S. C.
Holmes, Mrs. Anne Middleton (1940).....Norfolk, Connecticut.
Hook, James W. (1924).....Blake & Vallery Sts, New Haven, Conn.
Hooker, Roland M. (1933).....8521 Atlantic Way, Miami Beach, Fla.
Hopkins, Samuel Gover (1911).....6th & Walnut Sts., Phila., Pa.
Horner, Mrs. Harris H. (1936).....1304 W. 77th St., Chicago, Illinois
Hough, H. C. Tilghman (1925).....142 E. 71st St., New York City
Hughes, Joseph Lee (1941).....20 E. Washington St., Fleetwood, Penna.
Hyde, James Hazen (1941).....c/o Allen Wood, 111 Broadway, N. Y. C.
Hynson, Richard Washburn (1934).....3435 34th Place, Washington, D. C.
Jennings, Mrs. Frank E. (1936).....2505 Oak St., Jacksonville, Florida
Johnson, Joseph E. (1941).....2511 Lexington Rd., Louisville, Ky.
Johnson, Mrs. O. M. (1938).....416 Maple Ave., Waynesboro, Va.
Jones, Martin W. (1941).....136 E. 36th St., New York City
Jones, Robert C. (1934).....149 E. 73rd St., New York City
Jones, Mrs. T. Catesby (1929).....Shoreham Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Keene, Lt. Col. Marcel S. (1935).....1 East 60th St., New York City
Keidel, Geo. C., Ph. D. (1912).....707 Massachusetts Ave., N. E., Wash., D. C.
Kelley, J. Thomas, M. D. (1934).....1312 15th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Key, Sewall (1929).....University Club, Washington, D. C.
Kinsworthy, Mrs. Burton S. (1940).....1009 W. 3rd St., Little Rock, Arkansas
Kopper, John M. (1941).....54 Prospect St., Madison, N. J.
Kuhn, Miss Florence Calvert (1921).....Marmet, W. Va.
Larsen, Mrs. Ellouise Baker (1941).....750 W. Market St., Lima, Ohio
Leach, Miss M. Atherton (1907).....2118 Spruce St., Phila., Pa.

Lee, C. Stewart (1942) ..... 2801 Pennsylvania Ave., Wilmington, Del.
Lehr, Mrs. Louis (1926) ..... 825 Fifth Ave., New York City
Lewis, Clifford, 3rd (1934) ..... 240 S. 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Libby, George F., M. D. (1933) ....
Libby, Mrs. George F. (1919) (Augusta Maitland Carter) ..... } 913 25th St., San Diego, California
Lowe, W. Eldridge (1936) ..... Chester Place, Engelwood, N. J.
McAdams, Rev. Edward P. (1906) ..... 313 2nd St., S. E., Washington, D. C.
McCormick, Rev. Leo J. (1940) ..... 826 Wayne Ave., Silver Spring, Md.
Magee, D. Frank (1938) ..... York, Penna.
Manges, Mrs. Willis F. (Marie Elsie Bosley) (1934) .... } The Lenox, 13th & Spruce Sts., Philadelphia, Penna.
Martin, Mrs. Edwin S. (1905) ..... New Straitsville, Ohio
Massey, George V., 2nd (1937) ..... 55 King St., Dover, Del.
Metten, J. F. (1936) ..... N. Y. Shipbldg. Corp., Camden, N. J.
Middleton, Arthur Pierce (1939) ..... 33-52 81st St., Jackson Heights, N. Y. C.
Miller, William Alexander (1932) ..... 911 Monroe St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
Mills, Mrs. Ballinger (1934) ..... 2908 Ave. O., Galveston, Texas
Mish, Mrs. W. F., Jr. (1936) ..... Falling Waters, West Virginia
Mohler, Mrs. V. E. (1921) ..... St. Albans, W. Va.
Moss, James E. (1938) ..... 219 E. Gowen Ave., Phila., Pa.
Nicklin, Col. Benjamin Patten (1921) { 720 James Blvd., Signal Mountain, Tennessee
Nicodemus, F. Courtney, Jr. (1902) .... Smithtown Branch, Long Island, N. Y.
Oakes, Miss Virginia Buchanan (1941) .. 905 Maine St., Wellesburg, W. Va.
O'Brien, John (1937) ..... 1247 30th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Olmsted, Mrs. Edward (1940) ..... 700 N. Broad St., Elizabeth, N. J.
Oursler, Miss Mary C. (1921) ..... { 1415 Longfellow St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Phipps, Mrs. George M. (1940) ..... 3109 Van Buren St., Wilmington, Del.
Price, Mrs. Florence A. (1934) ..... { 100 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Ranck, Samuel H. (1898) ..... Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Reid, Mrs. C. R. (1928) ..... Newtonville, Mass.
Reid, Legh Wilber (1923) ..... Box 151, Haverford, Penna.
Richardson, William Ewen (1939) ..... 1719 Lamont St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Riggs, Thomas (1941) ..... 1910 S. St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Rinehart, Evan (1935) ..... 72 Ivy Way, Port Washington, N. Y.
Risacher, Rev. John A. (1934) ..... Box 1586, Durham, N. C.
Roberson, H. C. (1936) ..... 1218 E. Capitol St., Washington, D. C.
Roberts, Emerson B., M. D. (1932) ..... Wilkinsburg, Penna.
Roberts, Mrs. Lawrence Wood (1942) .. 2110 Leroy Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Rogers, Col. Arthur C. (1920) ..... 5 Radcliff Rd., Belle Haven, Alexandria, Va.
Ruth, Thos. DeCourcey (1916) ..... 55 Liberty St., New York City
Satterlee, Herbert L. (1934) ..... 1 Beekman Place, New York City
Satterthwaite, Reuben, Jr. (1939) ..... DuPont Bldg., Wilmington, Delaware
Scisco, Louis Dow (1925) ..... 2022 Columbia Rd., Washington, D. C.
Seth, Frank W. (1914) ..... Box 309, White Plains, N. Y.
Sheppard, Mrs. Henrietta D. (1925) ..... 17 Frederick St., Hanover, Pa.
Sherwood, Mrs. Horace K. T. (1939) .... Glen Cove, L. I.
Shoemaker, Rev. Samuel M. (1937) ..... 61 Gramercy Park, New York City
Silverson, Mrs. Katherine Taney .... (1931) ..... } 2655 Lakes of Isle Blvd., Minneapolis, Minn.
Sioussat, St. George Leakin (1912) ..... Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Smith, Mrs. Gertrude (1941) ..... Jefferson Apts., Washington, D. C.
Smoot, Lewis Egerton (1921) ..... { 2007 Wyoming Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Somers, Wilson E. (1935) ..... North Emporia, Va.
Steele, Heath (1936) ..... 61 Broadway, New York City

Steiner, Dr. Walter R. (1927).....646 Asylum Ave., Hartford, Conn.
Stephenson, Miss Jean (1929).....Conard Apts., Washington, D. C.
Strider, Miss Emma T. (1927).....1450 Rhode Island Ave., Washingon, D. C.
Sudler, Miss Carolina V. (1915).....Calverton Apts., Washington, D. C.
Sumwalt, Mrs. Mary H. (1909).....418 Franklin Ave., Danville, Illinois
Sutliff, Mrs. S. Dana (1921).....Shippensburg, Pa.
Taylor, Stephen C. (1938).....5571 Hampton St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Thruston, R. C. Ballard (1917).....Filson Club, Breckinridge St., Louisville, Ky.
Tilghman, Douglas C. (1941).....c/o Queanbeyan Municipal Council, Queanbeyan, N. S. W., Australia
Todd, Mrs. Henry Alfred (1935).....860 Park Ave., New York City
Towson, Sheldon K. (1941).....2684 Landon Rd., Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio
Van Deventer, Horace (1937).....Brighton Hotel, Washington, D. C.
Van Rensselaer, Miss Florence (1926)....3 E. 82d St., New York City
Vercoe, Mrs. Fred. (1939).....2479 Fair Ave., Columbus, Ohio
Virkus, Fred. Adams (1930).....440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois
Waggaman, Thomas E. (1939).....U. S. Supreme Court, Washington, D. C.
Wallis, Mrs. Thomas Smythe (1923).....1906 Randolph St., Arlington, Virginia
Waters, Campbell Easter (1934).....5812 Chevy Chase Pkwy., Wash., D. C.
Watson, Mrs. Alexander Mackenzie (1920).....Harrods Creek, Kentucky
Watts, Mrs. James T. (1938).....514 19th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Weeks, Mangum (1941).....219 N. Royal St., Alexandria, Va.
Welbon, Rev. Henry G. (1938).....77 E. Park Place, Newark, Del.
White, John Campbell (1931).....American Legation, Port au Prince, Haiti
Wilson, Samuel M. (1907).....Trust Co. Building, Lexington, Ky.
Winchester, James Price (1935).....Wilmington, Delaware
Wright, Mrs. J. Pilling (1939).....Orchard Rd. & Kent Way, Newark, Del.
Young, H. J. (1935).....Librarian, York County Historical Society, York, Penna.
Young, Mrs. Norville Finley (1937)....1968 Denune Ave., Columbus, Ohio

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Where no P. O. Address is given, Baltimore is understood.

Abercrombie, Dr. Ronald T. (1916).....10 Whitfield Rd.
Abercrombie, Mrs. Ronald T. (1937)....10 Whitfield Rd.
Abrams, Michael A., M. D. (1936).....2360 Eutaw Place
Addison, Joseph (1934).....806 Mercantile Trust Building
Addison, Mrs. T. Gibson (Otie Seymour Candler) (1923)..P. O. Box 194, Baltimore
Adkins, Frederick P. (1941).....Salisbury, Md.
Aiken, Miss M. Virginia J. (1934).....400 Lyman Ave.
Akers, Mrs. Warren M. (1929).....2017 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Albee, Mrs. George (1921).....Laurel, Md.
Albert, Mrs. J. Taylor (1928).....1028 N. Calvert St.
Alexander, Charles Butler (1923).....Eccleston, Md.
Allen, Hervey (1935)..... "Bonfield," Oxford, Md.
Allen, Mrs. Wendell D. (1940).....216 Edgevale Rd
Anderson, George M. (1933).....831 Park Ave.
Anderson, Mrs. Joseph L. (1941).....4617 Hunt Ave., Chevy Chase, Md.
Anderson, Mrs. Nils (1940)..... "Presqu'ile," Easton, Md.
Anderson, Stuart H. (1940).....2919 St. Paul St.
Andrews, Miss Julia G. de V. (1938)....107 E. Lake Ave.
Apple, Joseph H. (1941).....Frederick, Md.
Arensberg, Mrs. Charles F. C. (1941).... "Compton," Trappe, Md.
Armstrong, Mrs. Arthur F. (1938).....2911 Chesley Ave.

Ash, Miss Mollie Howard (1924).....Elkton, Md.
Atkinson, Miss Grace (1937).....4201 Somerset Place
Atkinson, Matthew S., Jr. (1925).....37 South St.
Austin, Walter F. (1934).....Easton, Md.

Bach, Frank A. (1942).....12 Wendover Rd.
*Badger, Mrs. A. P. (1927).....1111 Edmondson Ave.
Baer, Michael S. (1920).....1001 N. Calvert St.
Baer, Richard P. (1941).....Frederick Rd., Catonsville, Md.
Baetjer, Charles H. (1936).....4300 Greenway
Baetjer, Edwin G. (1936).....16 W. Madison St.
Baetjer, Harry N. (1936).....1409 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
Baetjer, Howard (1936).....16 W. Madison St.
Baetjer, Walter A., M. D. (1936).....16 W. Madison St.
Baile, J. David (1941).....Medford, Md.
Baker, Mrs. Harry J. (1941).....Ruxton, Md.
Baker, William G., Jr. (1916).....Care of Baker Watts & Co.
Baldwin, Francis J. (1939).....801 N. Charles St.
Baldwin, John Ashby (1935).....1302 John St.
Baldwin, Robert H. (1939).....Elkridge, Md.
Baldwin, Miss Rosa E. (1923).....3951 Cloverhill Road.
Baldwin, Summerfield, Jr. (1928).....117 W. Baltimore St.
Baldwin, Wm. Woodward (1924).....926 Cathedral St.
Ballard, Paul G. (1938).....6307 Pinehurst Ave.
Banks, Miss Elizabeth (1926).....2119 Bolton St.
Barker, Mrs. Lewellys F. (Lilian Halsey) (1931).....208 Stratford Rd.
Barnes, G. Harry (1936).....Homewood Apts.
Barnes, Walter D. (1928).....3603 Calloway Ave.
Barroll, L. Wethered (1910).....412 Equitable Bldg.
Barroll, Morris Keene (1917).....Chestertown, Md.
Barton, Carlyle (1924).....800 Baltimore Life Bldg.
Barton, Mrs. Carlyle (Isabel R. T.) (1929).....Dulany Valley Rd., Towson, Md.
Barton, Randolph, Jr. (1915).....806 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
Baugh, Mrs. Frederick H. (1922).....207 Woodlawn Rd.
Baylor, John (1939).....Latrobe Apts.
Beall, Douglas H. (1939).....Sudbrook Park, Md.
Bean, Miss Mary Cloud (1930).....226 W. Lanvale St.
Beatty, Mrs. Philip Asfordby (1910).....Bradenton, Florida
Beck, Mrs. Harvey G. (1936).....215 Northway
Becker, Dr. Ernest J. (1942).....220 W. Lanvale St.
Beebe, Miss Heloise A. (1931).....404 Meadowbrook Ave., Ridgewood, N. J.
*Beeuwkes, C. John (1924).....1706 First National Bank Bldg.
Beirne, Mrs. Francis F. (1935).....Ruxton, Md.
Bennett, Miss Sarah E. (1930).....2019 Eutaw Place
Benson, Harry L. (1910).....3106 Evergreen Ave.
Bergland, Dr. and Mrs. John McFarland (1941).....229 Lambeth Rd.
Berry, Thomas N. (1940).....311 Washington St., Cumberland, Md.
Biays, Tolley A. (1939).....2807 N. Howard St.
Bibbins, Mrs. A. B. (1906).....2600 Maryland Ave.
Biedler, Mrs. William T., Jr. (1940).....305 Edgevale Rd.
Birmingham, Miss Grace (1939).....3112 N. Calvert St.
Black, Harry C., Jr. (1920).....Fidelity Building
Black, S. Duncan (1941).....Stevenson Lane, Towson, Md.
Bladensburg Historical Society (1938).....Bladensburg, Maryland
Blanchard, Peter P. (1939).....4814 Keswick Rd.
Bland, R. Howard (1937).....Rolling Rd., Catonsville, Md.

Bland, Mrs. William B. (1935) ..... Sparks, Md.
Blunt, Royden A. (1936) ..... Dorsey Hall Farm, Ellicott City, Md.
Bode, Mrs. Wm. C. (Gulielma G. Krebs Warner Hewes) (1937) .... 1900 Maryland Ave.
Bond, Carroll T. (1916) ..... 3507 N. Charles St.
Bond, Duke (1919) ..... Charles & Read Sts.
Bond, Eugene A. (1936) ..... Stevenson, Md.
Bond, Richard Furness (1940) ..... Relay, Md.
Boone, James R. Herbert (1934) ....
Boone, Mrs. James R. Herbert (Muriel H. Wurts-Dundas) (1934) } 765 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.
Borden, Mrs. E. M. (1936) ..... Washington Apts.
Bordley, Dr. James, Jr. (1914) ..... Charlcote Place
Bordley, Dr. James, 3rd (1937) ..... 3 Stratford Rd.
Bosley, Charles B. (1941) ..... Munsey Bldg.
Bosley, John W. (1941) ..... Safe Deposit & Trust Co.
Bosworth, Mrs. C. W. (Beatrice) (1929) ..... 2109 N. Calvert St.
Bouchet, Charles J. (1921) ..... 206 E. Biddle St.
Boulden, Mrs. Chas. Newton (1916) .. .. P. O. Box 154, Baltimore
Bounds, Mrs. George C. (1937) ..... Hebron, Md.
Bouse, John H., M. D. (1926) ..... 2618 Beryl Ave.
Bowdoin, Mrs. Henry J. (Julia Morris) (1930) ..... Lawyers Hill, Relay, Md.
Bowe, Dr. Dudley Pleasants (1927) ..... 2 W. Read St.
Bowie, Clarence K. (1916) ..... Mercantile Trust Bldg.
Bowie, Forrest Dodge (1936) ..... Mt. Lubentia, R. F. D., Benning, D. C.
Bowie, Miss Lucy Leigh (1936) ..... 1301 Bolton St.
Bowie, Mrs. Richmond Irving (Effie Gwynn) (1934) ..... " Beechwood," Upper Marlboro, Md.
Bowman, Isaiah (1936) ..... Oak Place, Charles St.
Boyce, Fred. G., Jr. (1916) ..... 4102 Greenway
Boyce, Heyward E. (1912) ..... 4 Club Rd.
Branin, Miss Helen R. (1941) ..... Port Deposit, Md.
Brent, Mrs. Duncan K. (1922) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Brent, Mrs. Robert F. (1916) ..... The St. Paul Apts.
Brewer, Wm. Treanor (1928) ..... 4205 Penhurst Ave.
Brewster, Mrs. Benjamin H., Jr. (1939) .. Stevenson, Md.
Brogden, H. C. (1942) ..... 4 Englewood Rd.
Brooks, Rodney J. (1937) ..... Melrose & Bellona Aves.
Brown, Alexander (1902) ..... 2500 Reistertown Rd.
Brown, Donaldson (1941) ..... Mt. Ararat Farms, Port Deposit, Md.
Brown, Mrs. Thomas R. (1936) ..... 14 Whitfield Rd.
Browne, Rev. Lewis Beeman (1907) ..... St. John's Rectory, Frostburg, Md.
Bruce, Howard (1925) ..... c/o Baltimore National Bank
Bruce, Wm. Cabell (1909) .....
Bruce, Mrs. Wm. Cabell (1920) .... Ruxton, Md.
Brumbaugh, Chalmers S. (1940) ..... 317 St. Dunstan's Rd.
Brun, B. Lucien, D. D. S. (1936) ..... 827 Park Ave.
Brune, Fred W. (1929) ..... 2500 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Brune, H. M. (1902) ..... First National Bank Bldg.
Bubert, Howard M., M. D. (1942) ..... 101 W. Read St.
Buchanan, Thomas Gittings (1917) ..... 804 Garrett Bldg.
Buck, Charles H. (1937) ..... 215 E. Fayette St.
Buck, George G. (1940) ..... 225 E. Redwood St.
Buck, Walter H. (1926) ..... 609 Union Trust Bldg.
Buckey, Mrs. William G. (Ethel Close) (1931) ..... 1815 Park Ave.
Buckingham, E. G. (1927) ..... 1019 Winding Way

Buddecke, Miss Jane D. (1941) ..... 129 W. Lanvale St.
Bull, Mrs. Carroll G. (Zelma Melissa Smith) (1937) ..... 3021 N. Calvert St.
Bunn, Very Rev. Edward B., S. J. (1940) .. Loyola College, Evergreen
Burnett, Paul M. (1935) ..... Charles & Chase Sts.
Butler, Thomas P. (1937) ..... c/o Safe Deposit & Trust Co.
Butterfield, Clement F. (1927) ..... 2723 N. Charles St.
Byrd, Harry Clifton, Ph. D. (1938) ..... Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Cadwalader, Thomas F. (1934) ..... 1000 Maryland Trust Bldg.
Cairnes, Miss Laura J. (1923) ..... 4008 Roland Ave.
Campbell, Mrs. Harry Guy (1942) ..... 400 Highland Ave., Towson, Md.
Campbell, Mrs. Harry Mackin (1938) .... 5717 Roland Ave.
Campbell, Milton (1935) ..... Easton, Md.
Carey, Charles H. (1919) ..... 2220 N. Charles St.
Carey, Lee C., Lt. Comm. U. S. N. (Ret.) (1937) ..... Belvedere Hotel
Carman, Mrs. Stanley (1936) ..... 1617 Linden Ave.
Carmine, Miss Margaret B. (1930) ..... Hopkins Apartments
Carr, Mrs. Robert H. (1929) ..... 653 University Pkwy.
Carroll, Douglas Gordon (1913) ..... Brooklandville, Md.
Carroll, Douglas Gordon, Jr. (1940) .... Brooklandville, Md.
Carroll, Miss Louise E. (1935) ..... 2015 Edgewood St.
Carroll, Miss M. Grace (1923) ..... Ambassador Apts.
Carroll, Philip A. (1936) ..... 55 Wall St., New York City
Carter, Allan L. (1937) ..... 3902 N. Charles St.
Carter, H. LeRoy (1937) ..... 843 University Pkwy.
Carton, Mrs. Lawrence R. (1935) ..... "Poppintry House," Towson, Md.
Carver, Mrs. David J. (1935) ..... 217 Chancery Rd.
Cassell, W. Barry (1934) ..... Brooklandville, Md.
Casler, DeWitt B., M. D. (1941) ..... 13 W. Chase St.
Castle, Mrs. Guy W. S. (1932) ..... Oxon Hill, Md.
Cathcart, Maxwell (1922) ..... 1408 Park Ave.
Chapman, James W., Jr. (1916) ..... 415 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
Chatard, Dr. J. Albert (1929) ..... 1300 N. Calvert St.
Chesney, Dr. Alan M. (1939) ..... 1419 Eutaw St.
*Chesnut, Mrs. W. Calvin (1923) .. Chesnut, Hon. W. Calvin (1897) ... 111 Ridgewood Road
Chinard, Gilbert, Ph. D. (1935) ..... 93 Mercer St., Princeton, N. J.
Christhilf, Miss Katharine M. (1940) .... 119 Beechdale Rd.
*Clark, Miss Anna E. B. (1914) ..... The St. Paul Apartments
Clark, Charles Branch, Ph. D. (1940) ... West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia
Clark, Miss Charlotte (1940) ..... 212 E. 39th St.
Clark, Ernest J. (1931) ..... 211 Highfield Rd.
Clark, Mrs. Gaylord Lee (1928) ..... Stevenson, Md.
Clark, Louis T. (1929) ..... Ellicott City, Md.
*Clark, Walter L. (1921) ..... 1914 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Clemens, Mrs. L. B. (Olivia Fendall) (1939) ..... "Evesham Place," Govans P. O.
Clemson, Charles O. (1928) ..... Westminster, Maryland
Cleveland, Richard F. (1925) ..... Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Cloud, Mr. & Mrs. William Woodward (1940) ..... 3 Hillside Road
Coale, Joseph M. (1930) ..... 511 Keyser Bldg.
Coale, Mrs. Wm. Ellis (1936) ..... 19 W. Cold Spring Lane
Coblentz, Mrs. Oscar B. (1941) ..... Frederick Rd., Catonsville
Cochran, Wm. F. (1937) ..... 411 N. Charles St.
Coe, Ward B. (1920) ..... Fidelity Building
Cogswell, Latrobe (1937) ..... 45 N. Evergreen Ave., Woodbury, N. J.

Cohn, Charles M. (1919) ..... Lexington Bldg.
Cohn, Mrs. E. Herrman (Doris Maslin) (1930) ..... Princess Anne, Maryland
Cole, J. Wesley, M. D. (1931) ..... Loch Raven Blvd. & Hillen Rd., Towson, Md.
Cole, Hon. William P. (1936) ..... Towson, Md.
Colgan, Edward J., Jr (1941) ..... Fidelity Bldg.
Collenberg, Mrs. Henry T. (1928) ..... 116 Witherspoon Rd.
Collins, Hon. Stephen R. (1941) ..... Chestertown, Md.
Collinson, Mrs. John (1937) ..... 3943 Cloverhill Rd.
Conlon, Charles C., Jr. (1937) ..... 40 Warrenton Rd.
Conn, Mrs. William Tipton (1936) ..... 10 Midvale Rd.
Connolly, Gerald C. (1919) .....
Connolly, James E., M. D. (1928) .. 1116 N. Eutaw St.
Conrad, Mrs. Robert Y. (1941) ..... Ambassador Apts.
Constable, George W. (1940) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Cook, Miss Jane James ..... Stevenson, Md.
Cooke, Mrs. Miriam Baldwin (1930) ..... Waterbury, Md.
Coonan, Edward V. (1907) ..... 121 W. Lafayette Ave.
Cooper, J. Crossan, Jr. (1937) ..... W. Lake Ave.
Cooper, John P., Jr., (1940) ..... 3 Brightside Ave., Pikesville, Md.
Coriell, Dr. Lewis (1927) ..... 111 W. Monument St.
Cotten, Bruce (1912) ..... Mt. Washington
Coulter, Philemon B. (1938) ..... 711 Park Ave.
Cox, Charles Hurley (1939) ..... 3007 Shannon Drive
Cranwell, John Philips (1936) ..... 1622 Park Ave.
Craycroft, T. Veazey (1941) ..... Preston Apts.
Cromwell, Mrs. W. Kennedy (1916) ..... Brightside & Bellona Aves.
Cronin, Mrs. W. H. (1932) ..... Aberdeen, Md.
Cullen, Dr. Thos. S. (1926) ..... 20 E. Eager St.
Culver, Francis Barnum (1910) ..... 4709 Roland Ave.
Curley, Right Reverend Michael J., Archbishop of Baltimore (1937) .. 408 N. Charles St.
Cutler, Geo. C. (1936) ..... Garrison, Md.

Dabney, Dr. William M. (1916) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Daiger, Mr. & Mrs. Matthais L. (1937) .. 3227 Vickers Rd.
Daingerfield, Mrs. P. B. Key (1925) ..... 4409 Greenway
D'Alesandro, Hon. Thomas (1942) ..... 245 Albemarle St.
Dallam, C. Braxton (1924) ..... 4001 Greenway
Dalsheimer, Simon (1909) ..... The Lord Baltimore Press
Dalton, Joseph C. (1932) ..... Sparks, Maryland
Damuth, Rev. Warren K. (1923) ..... Thurmont, Md.
Darnall, Richard Bennett (1933) ..... Greenock P. O., Maryland
Darrell, Mrs. H. Cavendish (1937) ..... 1109 Eutaw St.
Dashiell, Benjamin J. (1914) ..... Towson, Maryland
Dashiell, Miss Mary Leeke (1934) ..... Phoenix, Maryland
Dashiell, N. Leeke, M. D. (1904) ..... 2927 St. Paul St.
Dashiell, Mrs. Nicholas L. (1922) ..... 2927 St. Paul St.
Davis, Mrs. Allen A. (1934) ..... 34 E. Melrose Ave.
Davis, E. Asbury (1924) ..... 119-21 S. Howard St.
Davis, Mrs. Harry S. (1939) ..... 2112 Brookfield Ave.
Davis, Dr. J. Staige (1916) ..... 215 Wendover Rd.
Davis, Dr. S. Griffith (1935) ..... 220 Chancery St.
*Davis, Dr. W. W. (1921) ..... Box 724, Baltimore, Md.
Davison, Miss Carolina V. (1925) ..... Cecil Apts.
Davison, Miss Elizabeth T. (1925) ..... Cecil Apts.
Dawson, E. Rowland (1940) ..... 2805 St. Paul St.
Day, Miss Mary Forman (1907) ..... The Donald, 1523 22nd St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Debman, George R. (1937) ..... Woodbrook, Baltimore
de Corse, Miss Helen Camp (1941) ..... Box 535, Jessups, Md.
Deford, Mrs. Robert B. (Dorothea Hoffman) (1934) ..... Gittings P. O., Md.
Delaplaine, Hon. Edward S. (1920) ..... Frederick, Md.
Delmar, Charles (1942) ..... Frederick, Md.
Denmead, Garner Wood (1923) ..... 4214 Wickford Rd.
Dennis, Mrs. James Teackle (1923) ..... 100 W. University Parkway
Dennis, James U. (1907) ..... 2 E. Lexington St.
Dennis, Oregon Milton (1922) ..... New Amsterdam Bldg.
Dennis, Hon. Samuel K. (1905) ..... Court House
Dickerson, Hon. Edwin T. (1939) ..... 3004 Garrison Blvd.
Dickinson, John (1941) ..... "Crosiadore," Trappe, Md.
Dielman, Louis H. (1905) ..... Peabody Institute
Digges, Mrs. Edward William (1939) ..... Malvern Rd., Ruxton, Md.
Diggs, Albert (1940) ..... Homewood Apts.
Dixon, James (1926) ..... Easton, Maryland
Dodds, Mrs. S. A. (1941) ..... Route 3, Box 851, Annapolis, Md.
Dodson, Herbert K. (1909) ..... 102 W. 39th St.
Doebler, Valentine S. (1922) ..... Greenway and St. Martin's Rd.
Doehler, Edward A. (1935) ..... Loyola College, Evergreen
Dole, Dr. Esther M. (1937) ..... Washington College, Chestertown, Md.
Donn, Edward W., Jr. (1935) ..... 10 E. Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
Donnelly, Edward A. (1919) ..... 213 N. Calvert St.
Donoho, Edmond S. (1939) ..... 18 N. Charles St.
Dorsey, Dr. Caleb, Jr. (1927) ..... 1700 Rosedale St.
Dorsey, Mrs. John L. (1940) ..... 1015 St. George's Rd.
*Downey, Dr. Jesse W., Jr. (1929) ..... 209 Hawthorne Rd.
Dozer, Donald Marquand, Ph. D. (1938) ..... Univ. of Maryland, College Park
Dryden, Thos. P. (1930) ..... 208 Northfield Place
Duer, Thomas Marshall (1935) ..... 100 W. University Pkwy.
Duffy, Edward (1920) ..... 138 W. Lanvale St.
Duffy, Mrs. Eleanor Bernard (1927)
Duffy, Henry (1916) ..... 110 W. North Ave.
Dugan, Frank Markoe (1941) ..... 907 St. Paul St.
Dugan, Miss Mary Coale (1919) ..... 124 W. Lanvale St.
Duke, Charles C. (1939) ..... 101 W. Monument St.
Duke, William Bernard (1909) ..... Valley Lee, Md.
Dukehart, Morton McI. (1920) ..... 419 Woodlawn Rd.
Duker, Mrs. J. Edward (1923) ..... 3904 N. Charles St.
Dulany, Mrs. Josephine Lanahan (1936) ..... Washington Apts.
Duncan, A. E. (1941) ..... First National Bank Bldg.
Dunton, Wm. Rush, Jr., M. D. (1902) ..... 33 Symington Ave., Catonsville, Md.
Dutton, Meiric K. (1940) ..... 221 Ridgemeade Rd.
Duvall, Mrs. Richard M. ..... 2905 N. Charles St.

Easter, Mrs. James W. (Anita T.) (1929) ..... Owings Mills, Md.
Edmondson, Mrs. Frank Gordon (1928)
Edmondson, J. Hooper (1928) .....
Edmondson, W. W., Jr. ..... Roland Park Apts.
Edwards, Mrs. Charles Reid (1935) ..... 106 Longwood Rd.
Edwards, Mrs. Edmund P. (1928) ..... 55 Lombardy Place
Egerton, Stuart (1919) ..... 106 Elmhurst Rd.
*Ellicott, Charles E. (1918) ..... Melvale, Md.
Ellicott, William M. (1929)
Ellicott, Mrs. Wm. M. (1929) ..... 714 St. Paul St.
Ellinger, Esther Parker (1922) ..... 12 W. 25th St.

Ellis, Edward D., M. D. (1936).....107 St. Dunstans Rd.
Elphinstone, Lewis M. (1939).....4705 Roland Ave.
Emmart, Wm. W. (1924).....1818 Munsey Bldg.
England, Joseph Townsend (1939).....43 Iglehart Bldg.
Englar, George Monroe (1928)..... ..Roland Park Apts.
Evans, Henry Ridgely (1935)..... .Wyman Park Apts.
Ewell, Mrs. Emmett Robinson (1937)....1513 Bolton St.

Fadum, Ernest F. (1942).....1301 Hearst Tower Bldg.
Fairfax, Mrs. John (1938).....1210 Bolton St.
Fenhagen, G. Corner (1918).....325 N. Charles St.
Fenhagen, James C. (1927).....c/o Baltimore National Bank
Fenwick, G. Bernard (1929).....Glyndon, Md.
Fickus, Henry J. (1927).....4506 Mainfield Ave.
Finch, Rayme W. (1937).....207 W. 29th St.
Findlay, Miss Mary P. B. (1930).....1510 Bolton St.
Finley, Mrs. W. Norville (1930).....605 N. Charles St.
Finney, Miss Catherine (1934).....937 St. Paul St.
Finney, W. W. (1939).....Aberdeen, Md.
Fisher, D. K. E. (1916).....Ruxton, Md.
Fisher, Samuel J. (1932).....Union Trust Bldg.
Fisher, Dr. Wm. A. (1924).....715 Park Ave.
Fitzgerald, Charles G. (1923).....911 St. Georges Rd.
Flack, Horace E. (1938).....Mt. Washington, Md.
Flack, Mrs. James W., Jr. (1937)... }
Flack, James W., Jr. (1939)..... } 2921 St. Paul St.
Fleming, Miss Elizabeth Boyd (1925)....Canterbury Hall Apartments
Florence, Nellie G. (1931).....Brentwood P. O., Md.
Flynn, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. (1937)....1702 Park Ave.
Focke, Walter D. (1941).....3700 N. Charles St.
Fogg, George W. (1939).....College Park, Md.
Fooks, Major Herbert C. (1921).....723 Munsey Building
Forbes, George (1924).....601 Maryland Trust Building
Foster, Mrs. Henry C. (1939).....Clear Spring, Md.
Foster, James W. (1935).....203 Oakdale Rd.
Fowler, Mrs. Edith E. (1939).....104 Washington St., Cumberland, Md.
Fowler, Laurence Hall (1919).....347 N. Charles St.
Fowler, Miss Louisa Mc. E. (1939).....Washington Apts.
France, Jacob (1926).....Calvert Building
France, Mrs. Jacob (1926).....Old Court Rd., Pikesville, Md.
Frank, Eli (1923).....2007 Sulgrave Ave., Mt. Washington
Franklin, Mrs. Benjamin (1921).....104 W. 39th St.
Frazer, Miss Grace Carvill (1941).....5607 Roxbury Place
Frederick, Eugene (1939).....3208 Brightwood Ave.
Frederick County Historical Society (1941) ..... } ..Frederick, Md.
Freeman, Dr. E. B. (1926).....807 Cathedral St.
Freeman, J. Douglas (1914).....203 Woodlawn Rd.
French, H. Findlay (1929).....22 Light St.
French, Dr. John C. (1924).....416 Cedarcroft Road
Frick, Fred. M. (1936).....609 Keyser Bldg.
*Frick, George Arnold (1914).....20 E. Lexington St.
Friedenwald, Harry, M. D. (1919).....1212 Eutaw Place
*Friedenwald, Julius, M. D. (1919).....1013 N. Charles St.
Friedenwald, Mrs. Julius (1937).....Belvedere Hotel
Funsten, Mrs. David (1941).....3012 N. Calvert St.

Gaither, Charles D. (1919)....." Stockwood," Ellicott City, Md.
Gale, Walter R. (1921).....241 W. Lanvale St.

Gans, Arthur D. (1939) ..... 117 B. & O. Bldg.
Garcelon, Mrs. Herbert I. (1924) ..... Severna Park, Anne Arundel Co., Md.
Gardiner, Norman Bentley (1938) ..... 821 Park Ave.
Garrett, John W. (1898) ..... 4545 N. Charles St.
Garrett, Mrs. Robert (1928) .....
Garrett, Robert (1898) ..... } Charles St. and Wyndhurst Ave.
George, Mrs. Thomas Stevens (Esther Ridgely) (1934) ..... } Towson, Md.
Gibbs, John S., Jr. (1914) ..... Woodbrook, Baltimore
Gibbs, Mrs. Rufus M. (1924) ..... 1209 St. Paul St.
Gill, Mrs. Robert Lee (1924) ..... 11 Club Road
Gilleland, Mrs. Marion A. (1936) ..... 2017 E. North Ave.
Gillet, Mrs. James McClure (1939) ..... 1420 Park Ave.
Gilpin, Mrs. Arthington, Jr. (1935) ..... 7 Gittings Ave.
Gittings, Miss Victoria (1920) ..... 1428 Park Ave.
Goldsborough, Phillips Lee (1915) ..... Tudor Arms Apts.
Goldsborough, Richard (1939) ..... Easton, Maryland
Goldsmith, Mr. and Mrs. John Gray (1937) ..... } 812 E. 41st St.
Gordon, Mrs. Alan L. (1937) ..... 1613 Bolton St.
Gordon, Mrs. Alexander H. (1916) ..... 1009 N. Charles St.
Gordon, Douglas H. (1928) ..... 100 E. Chase St.
Gordon, Miss Elizabeth S. (1941) ..... 1009 N. Charles St.
*Gore, Clarence S., M. D. (1940) ..... Fidelity Bldg.
Gorman, Mrs. Grace Norris (1923) ..... Laurel, Md.
Gorter, Poultney (1939) ..... 5314 St. Albans Way
Gough, Mrs. I. Pike (1916) ..... Hopkins Apts.
Graham, Albert D. (1915) ..... First National Bank Bldg.
*Graham, Boyd B. (1936) ..... 4310 St. Paul St.
Graham, R. Walter, Jr., M. D. (1935) ..... 3702 Greenway
Graham, Robert Lee (1936) ..... 114 W. University Pkwy.
Green, Elmer S. (1934) ..... 54 Ridge Rd., Yonkers, N. Y.
Green, Ernest J. (1941) ..... 2626 Shirley Ave.
Green, Mrs. John M. (1938) ..... 4 Acton Place, Annapolis, Md.
Greenfield, Kent Roberts, Ph. D. (1934) ..... Tudor Arms Apts.
Greenway, Miss Elizabeth W. (1917) ..... 2322 N. Charles St.
Gregg, Maurice (1886) ..... 719 N. Charles St.
Greif, Mrs. Leonard L. (1940) ..... 4 Slade Ave.
Griswold, Alexander Brown (1935) ..... Monkton, Md.
Griswold, B. Howell, Jr. (1913) ..... Alex. Brown & Sons
Gross, Jacob (1937) ..... 1605 Chilton St.

Hall, Miss Adelphine (1928) ..... 5304 Springlake Way
Hall, Mrs. Arthur H., Sr. (1938) ..... McDonogh Lane, Pikesville, Md.
Hall, Cary D., Jr. (1919) ..... 706 Fidelity Bldg.
Hall, Mrs. Howard Victor (1942) ..... Wardour, Md.
Hall, Miss Rosabel E. (1928) ..... 2406 Kenoak Ave., Mt. Washington
Hall, Sidney (1937) ..... 1319 Park Ave.
Hall, Dr. William S. (1922) ..... 215 Woodlawn Rd.
Hamilton, Mrs. S. Henry (1939) ..... 1212 Bolton St.
*Hamman, Mrs. Louis (1923) ..... 315 Overhill Rd.
Hammond, Edward (1923) ..... 2116 N. Charles St.
Hammond, Edward Hopkins (1923) ..... 3641 49th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hancock, James E. (1907) ..... 2122 St. Paul St.
Hann, Samuel M. (1915) ..... 3902 Canterbury Rd.
Hanson, Aquilla Brown (1928) ..... 3622 Greenmount Ave.
Hanson, B. Henry, Jr. (1940) ..... 204 Stratford Rd.
Hardinge, Mr. and Mrs. Harold, Jr. (1932) ..... } 2450 Eutaw Place

Harlan, Henry D., LL. D. (1894). . . . . Fidelity Building.
Harlan, Mrs. Henry D. (1928). . . . . 4909 Falls Rd.
Harper, Mrs. Anna Ellis (1941). . . . . St. Michaels, Md.
Harper, George Houston (1921). . . . . Homewood Apts.
Harris, Miss Helen Nicholson (1928). . . . St. Paul Apts.
Harris, Norris (1927). . . . . } 2906 Alameda Blvd.
Harris, Mrs. Norris (1926). . . . . }
Harris, Mrs. W. Hall (Alice Patterson) (1919). . . . . } 102 Longwood Rd.
Harris, W. Hall, Jr. (1938). . . . . } 31 E. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Harris, Mrs. W. Hall, Jr. (1941). . . }
Harris, W. Hall, 3rd (1938). . . . . 1210 Bolton St.
Harrison, Dr. Edmund P. H., Jr. (1934). . 2903 N. Charles St.
Harrison, George (1915). . . . . 4426 Marble Hall Rd.
Harrison, J. Edward (1915). . . . . 315 E. University Pkwy.
Harrison, Mrs. John W. (1941). . . . . Box 45, Sudlersville, Md.
Harrison, Miss Rebekah (1919). . . . . Ellicott City, Md.
Harrison, Robert B. (1936). . . . . Garrison, Md.
Hart, Robert S. (1923). . . . . 101 W. Monument St.
Hayden, Mrs. Lewis M. (1927). . . . . 2010 Park Ave.
Hayes, Robert F., Jr. (1923). . . . . 3526 Roland Ave.
Hayward, F. Sidney (1897). . . . . Harwood Ave., Govans
Hecht, Miss Beatrice Mae (1936). . . . . Arlington Park Apts.
Helfenstein, Rt. Rev. Edward T. (1920). . 105 W. Monument St.
Hemphill, Mrs. James M. (1940). . . . . Elkridge, Md.
Henderson, Charles F. (1919). . . . . Continental Trust Bldg.
Henderson, George (1934). . . . . Cumberland, Md.
Henderson, Mrs. Louisa P. (1919). . . . . Cumberland, Md.
Hendler, L. Manuel (1939). . . . . 913 Lake Drive
Henry, Daniel M. (1923). . . . . Easton, Maryland
Henry, Mrs. M. Lynn (1928). . . . . Linthicum Heights, Md.
Henry, Mrs. Roberta B. (1914). . . . . " Myrtle Grove," Easton, Md.
Herring, Thomas R. (1919). . . . . 10 South St.
Hewes, Miss Frances Cushing (1941). . . 407 Cedarcroft Rd.
Hewes, M. Warner (1922). . . . . 2315 Maryland Ave.
Hewes, Miss Sarah C. (1940). . . . . 407 Cedarcroft Rd.
Hibbard, Francis Charles (1941). . . . . Box 174, Barnesville, Md.
Hicks, Admiral T. Holliday (1938). . . . . Cambridge, Md.
Hicks, T. Russell (1929). . . . . 106 W. Madison St.
Hill, Bancroft (1941). . . . . c/o Baltimore Transit Co., Equitable Bldg.
Hill, Mrs. Eben C. (1941). . . . . Hotel Stafford
*Hill, John Philip Clayton (1899). . . . . 16 E. Lexington St.
Hilles, Mrs. William S. (1934). . . . . 4603 Millbrook Rd., Guilford
Hines, Rev. Charles J. (1922). . . . . 27 S. Ellwood Ave.
Hitchcock, Ella Sprague (1919). . . . . 219 City Hall
Hodges, Miss Jessie L. (1942). . . . . 3748 Old York Rd.
Hoen, Albert B. (1935). . . . . 100 Ridgewood Rd.
Hoff, Mrs. Violet B. (1924). . . . . Ruxton, Md.
Hogan, Dr. John F. (1929). . . . . 7 East Preston St.
Holbeine, Sister M. Clotilde (1933). . . . . Mt. St. Agnes, Mount Washington
Holdcraft, Mehrling (1930). . . . . 2315 Harlem Ave.
Holly, Miss Netta E. (1934). . . . . Havre de Grace, Md.
Hooff, Miss Mary Stabler (1922). . . . . 1205 Linden Ave.
Hooper, Miss Florence (1937). . . . . 101 E. Redwood St.
Hoopes, Miss Blanche L. (1935). . . . . Blackstone Apts.
*Hoopes, Miss M. Ella (1935). . . . . Homewood Apts.
Hopkins, Mrs. Mabel Ford (1924). . . . . 2 Wyndhurst Ave.
Hopkins, Roger Brooke, Jr. (1938). . . . . " Bagatelle," Woodbrook, Baltimore
Hopper, Charles Cox (1930). . . . . 1405 John St.

Hough, Miss Anne Edmondson (1928)
Hough, Miss Ethel (1937) ..... 212 Lambeth Rd.
Howard, Arthur C. (1937) ..... 329 Dolphin St.
Howard, Charles McHenry (1902) ..... 901 St. Paul St.
Howard, Charles Morris (1907) ..... 1010 Munsey Bldg.
*Howard, John D. (1917) ..... 209 W. Monument St.
Howard, John Eager, of B. (1936) ..... Joppa Rd., Towson, Md.
Howard, Miss Julia McHenry (1927)
Howard, Miss May (1927) ..... 901 St. Paul St.
Howell, G. Robert (1935) ..... Fidelity Bldg.
Howell, William H., M. D. (1935) ..... 112 St. Dunstan's Rd.
Howell, William R., Ph. D. (1929) ... E. Campus Ave., Byforth Heights, Chestertown, Md.
Hoye, Charles E. (1931) ..... Sang Run, Md.
Hoyt, William Dana, Jr. (1930) ..... Alderman Library, University, Va.
Hubbard, Thomas F. (1928) ..... 317 Woodlawn Rd.
Hubbard, Mrs. Wilbur W. (1940) ..... Chestertown, Md.
Hubner, William R. (1920) ..... Safe Deposit and Trust Co.
*Hughes, Thomas (1886) ..... 1018 Cathedral St.
Hutchins, Miss Katherine K. (1928) ..... 142 W. Lanvale St.
Hutzler, Albert D. (1936) ..... "Pomona," Pikesville, Md.
Hyde, Bryden Bordley (1940) ..... "Evesham," Northern Parkway
Hyde, Enoch Pratt (1906) ..... 3507 N. Charles St.
Hysan, William B., Jr. (1937) ..... 6301 Eastern Ave.

Ijams, Miss Ella (1933) ..... 3702 Mohawk Ave.
Ijams, Mrs. George W. (1913) ..... 1324 Eutaw Place
Ingersoll, William Belt (1941) ..... 6407 Meadow Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
Ingle, Miss Eliza (1934)
Ingle, William (1909) ..... 1710 Park Ave.
Isaacs, Miss Bertha P. (1934) ..... "Maplewood," Elkridge, Md.
Israel, Miss Ellen C. (1934) ..... 701 Cathedral St.
Ives, Mrs. Charles P. (1941) ..... 4211 Wickford Rd.

Jackson, Mrs. George S. (1910) ..... Garrison, Md.
Jackson, Mayor Howard W. (1937).
Jackson, Mrs. Howard W. (1936) ... 5222 Springlake Way
Jacobs, Frank, Esq. (1935) ..... Bel Air, Md.
James, Macgill (1934) ..... 1228 30th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
James, Mrs. Richard H. (1940) ..... 8400 Piney Beach Rd., Silver Spring, Md.
Janney, Mrs. Stuart S. (1936) ..... Garrison, Md.
Jarman, Miss Martha F. (1934) ..... Princess Anne, Md.
Jeffery, Mrs. Elmore Berry (1933) ..... 307 Somerset Rd.
Jencks, Mrs. Francis M. (1924) ..... 1 W. Mt. Vernon Place
Jenkins, M. Ernest (1924) ..... Lake Ave., Roland Park, P. O.
Jenkins, Michael Oswald (1941) ..... 107 W. Monument St.
Jenkins, T. Courtney (1940) ..... "Denbigh," W. Lake Ave.
Johnson, Miss Mary Louise (1935) ..... Frederick, Md.
Johnson, Mrs. William H. (1939) ..... 306 Underwood Court
Johnston, Mrs. John Edward (1936) .... Charlcote House
Johnston, Mrs. Lola E. (1929) ..... Warrington Apts.
Jones, A. Carroll (1941) ..... 302 Gittings Ave.
*Jones, Arthur Lafayette (1911) ..... 1516 Bolton St.
Jones, Miss Nell Dennis (1941) ..... 407 Park Ave.
Jones, Miss Ruth (1932) ..... Towson, Md.
Joseph, Miss Bertha Coblens (1939)
Joseph, Miss Jeannette (1936) ..... 1513 Eutaw Place
Joyce, Mrs. John Collinson (Amy Knight) (1936) ..... Iris Hill-on-Severn, Arnold P. O., Md.

Joyce, Temple N. (1927) ..... Joyce Station, Md.
Judik, Mrs. J. Henry (1918) ..... 3906 St. Paul St.

Katz, Joseph (1935) ..... 7201 Park Heights Ave.
Keech, Mrs. Carolina Pagon (1924) ..... Roland Park Apts.
Kelley, William J. (1939) ..... 22 Light St.
Kelly, Howard A., M. D. (1919) ..... 1418 Eutaw Place
Kelly, James Vincent (1941) ..... Stone House, Druid Hill Park
Kemp, Ernest W. (1935) ..... 219 W. Centre St.
Kenney, Benj. F. (1937) ..... c/o Central Savings Bank
Kent, Mrs. Frank R. (1941) ..... Lombardy Apts.
Keys, Miss Jane G. (1905) ..... 605 E. 41st St.
Keyser, H. Irvine, 2nd (1928) ..... Brooklandville, Md.
Keyser, W. Irvine (1917) ..... Stevenson, Md.
Kidd, Miss Bertha Moulton (1942) ..... 3219 Windsor Ave.
King, Edward Stevenson (1938) ..... 5305 Falls Road Terrace
Kirkman, Walter N. (1927) ..... Rolling Road, Catonsville, Md.
Klein, Daniel E. (1937) ..... 618 University Pkwy., W.
Knox, J. H. Mason, Jr., M. D. (1909) ..... 211 Wendover Road
Koppelman, Arthur (1941) ..... 5 Light St.
Koppelman, Walter (1927) ..... 102 Milbrook Rd.
Krebs, Mrs. Robert Newton (1941) ..... "Ann's Delight," Annapolis, Md.
Kriel, Mrs. Walter E. (1938) ..... Hampstead, Md.
Krug, Miss Elsie Clark (1941) ..... 2227 St. Paul St.

Labrot, William H. (1941) ..... Annapolis, Md.
Lanahan, Mrs. William Wallace (Eleanor Williams) (1929) ..... Long Crandon, Towson, Md.
Lane, William Preston, Jr. (1939) ..... Hagerstown, Md.
Lasson, Nelson B. (1939) ..... 6110 Biltmore Ave.
Latrobe, Ferdinand C. (1932) ..... 3921 Canterbury Rd.
Leach, Miss Mary Clara (1924) ..... 4014 Edmondson Ave.
Leakin, Miss Susan Dobbin (1923) ..... 103 W. Monument St.
LeCompte, E. Lee (1941) ..... 514 Munsey Bldg.
Lee, H. H. M. (1923) ..... 1930 Mt. Royal Terrace
Lee, John L. G. (1916) ..... 511 Calvert Building
Le Fevre, Mrs. Wm. Douglas (1935) ..... R. F. D. 1, Chesapeake City, Md.
Legg, John C., Jr. (1916) ..... 222 E. Redwood St.
Leser, C. C. Fulton (1935) ..... 3915 N. Charles St.
Leupold, Mrs. Richard J. (1934) ..... 223 E. Preston St.
Levering, Edwin W., Jr. (1935) ..... Ruxton, Md.
Levy, Lester S. (1937) ..... Lombard & Paca Sts.
Levy, Oscar G. (1928) ..... 423 N. Fulton Ave.
Levy, William B. (1909) ..... 3700 N. Charles St.
Lewis, Prof. Charles L., U. S. N. A. (1936) ..... 41 Southgate Ave., Annapolis, Md.
Lilly, Austin Jenkins (1941) ..... 2742 St. Paul St.
*Linville, Charles H. (1938) ..... 4003 Keswick Rd.
Litsinger, Miss Elizabeth C. (1938) ..... 1503 Mt. Royal Ave.
Littig, Mrs. John M. (1919) ..... Cambridge Apartments
Lloyd, Mrs. Charles Howard (1928) ..... Easton, Md.
Lockard, G. Carroll, M. D. (1919) ..... 2925 N. Charles St.
Lockard, Mrs. G. Carroll (1930) ..... 2925 N. Charles St.
Lockhart, Henry, Jr. (1935) ..... "Cleghorn-on-Wye," Longwoods, Md.
Long, Mrs. Breckenridge (1931) ..... Laurel, Md.
Long, G. Allison, Jr. (1940) ..... 452 Lexington Bldg.
Lord, Mrs. J. Walter (1923) ..... 4314 Roland Court
Lord, Mrs. J. Williams (1919) ..... 1011 N. Charles St.
Lowry, Henry A. (1939) ..... 610 W. 40th St.
Lowry, Mrs. Henry A. (1938) ..... 610 W. 40th St.

Lucas, J. C. M. (1936) ..... Standard Oil Building
Luhn, John A. (1942) ..... 2408 Elsinor Ave.
Lynch, Mrs. M. John (Branford Gist) (1939) ..... Westminster, Md.
Lyon, Miss Grace (1923) ..... 223 Wendover Rd.

McCabe, Jos. A. (1936) ..... 1312 Homewood Ave.
McCardell, Lee (1929) ..... 4618 Wilmslow Rd.
McCarty, Mrs. Agatha Shipley (1935) ... 636 Cokesbury Ave.
McCarty, Howard, Jr. (1941) ..... 15 W. Franklin St.
McCeney, Mrs. George Patterson (1940) .. Laurel, Md.
McCleave, R. Hugh (1928) ..... Cumberland, Maryland
McColgan, Charles C. (1916) ..... 2710 N. Calvert St.
McColgan, Edward (1921) ..... 200 N. Beechwood Ave.
McCormick-Goodhart, Leander (1928) ... "Langley Park," Hyattsville, Md.
Maccubbin, Mrs. Wm. H. (1936) ..... 1925 E. 32nd St.
McCulloch, Mrs. Duncan (1932) ..... Glencoe, Md.
McCullough, David Norman (1938) .... 2702 Roslyn Ave.
MacGill, James (1934) ..... Atholton, Md.
McIntosh, J. Rieman (1937) ..... Baltimore Trust Bldg.
McIntyre, Edward J. (1934) ..... 1213 Luzerne Ave.
McIntyre, Edward L. (1941) ..... 1213 Luzerne Ave.
McKenrick, Mrs. Carl Ross (1939) ..... 321 Hawthorne Rd.
McKim, S. S. (1902) ..... P. O. Box 893
McLane, Miss Elizabeth C. (1919) ..... Warrington Apts.
MacLean, Dr. Angus L. (1933) ..... 1201 N. Calvert St.
McWilliams, Miss Mary Matthews (1929) ..... 1732 N. Calvert St.
Machen, Arthur W. (1917) ..... 1109 Calvert Bldg.
Machen, Thomas G. (1937) ..... Poplar Hill Rd.
Mackall, R. McGill (1928) ..... 2423 Pickwick Rd.
Magruder, Caleb Clarke (1930) ..... Upper Marlboro, Md.
Magruder, Miss Louise E. (1929) ..... Annapolis, Md.
Maloy, William Milnes (1911) ..... 308 Overhill Rd.
Manning, James R. (1928) ..... Briarfield, Poplar Hill Road
Marburg, Theodore (1931) ..... 14 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Marbury, Mrs. Ogle (1940) ..... Laurel, Md.
Marine, Miss Harriet P. (1915) ..... Box 3753, Druid Station, Baltimore
Markell, Charles (1937) ..... 1804 1st Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Markell, Mrs. Francis H. (1923) ..... Frederick, Md.
Marshall, Mrs. H. Benthall (1941) ..... Garrison, Md.
Marshall, Morgan (1935) ..... Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
Marshall, Mrs. Robert E. Lee (1937) .... 1013 Poplar Hill Rd.
Marshall, Thomas Hartley, Jr. (1941) .... 4319 Marble Hall Rd.
Marye, William B. (1911) ..... 207 E. Preston St.
Massey, Mr. & Mrs. J. Allan (1923) .... 1514 33rd St.
Massey, Miss M. E. (1925) ..... 105 Maple Ave., Chestertown, Md.
Mather, L. B. (1922) ..... 315 E. 22nd St.
Mathews, Edward B., Ph.D. (1905) .... Johns Hopkins University
Maulsby, Holt (1940) ..... 4503 Roland Ave.
Maynard, Julian H., Lt. Comm. U. S. N. (1936) ..... 80 Cranberry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Maynard, Mrs. Sellman (1938) ..... 2507 Roslyn Ave.
Mead, Gilbert W. (1941) ..... Washington College, Chestertown, Md.
Mears, Mrs. Adelbert Warren (1930) .... 3102 Hilton St.
Medford, Richard C. (1940) ..... Municipal Museum
Mencken, August (1928) ..... 1524 Hollins St.
Merrick, Robert G. (1937) ..... Munsey Bldg.
Merritt, Elizabeth, Ph.D. (1939) ..... Pleasant Hill Rd., Owings Mill, Md.

Merritt, Mrs. James A. (1940) ..... 6014 Bellona Ave.
Meyer, Mrs. Robert A. (1924) ..... 3047 Brighton St.
Miller, Miss Alice E. (1938) ..... Port Deposit, Md.
Miller, Charles R. (1916) ..... 2200 Roslyn Ave.
Miller, Miss Ethel M. (1941) ..... Charles St. & Lake Ave.
Miller, Mrs. John O. (1941) ..... St. Michaels, Md.
Miller, R. Fowler (1937) ..... c/o Supt. Telegraph B. & O. R. R., Camden Station
Miller, Mrs. Warren D. (1924) ..... 160 W. Washington St., Hagerstown, Md.
Miller, Mrs. William E. (1922) ..... 106 W. University Pkwy.
Minick, Miss Rachel (1941) ..... 505 McCabe Ave.
Mintz, Julius (1924) ..... 1009 Calvert Bldg.
Moffett, W. Edwin (1942) ..... 2216 N. Calvert St.
Moore, Mrs. Charles E. (1938) ..... 4414 Roland Ave.
Moore, Mrs. Winfield A. (1940) ..... 3133 Rosalie Ave.
Morgan, Philip S. (1936) ..... 514 St. Paul Place
Morgan, Zachariah R., M. D. (1931) ..... 3 Deepdene Rd.
Morrison, Mrs. Harry (1935) ..... Woodbrook, Md.
Morton, Samuel P., Jr. (1934) ..... Ambassador Apts.
Moss, Williamson Wade, Jr. (1941) ..... 3904 Bateman Ave.
Mullikin, James C. (1938) ..... 802 Kingston Rd., Stoneleigh
Mullikin, Kent R. (1933) ..... 306 Montgomery Ave., Laurel, Md.
Mullin, Miss Elizabeth Lester (1916) ..... 1501 Park Ave.
Murdoch, Miss Mildred Laws (1926) ..... Cecil Apts.
Murray, John Donaldson, M. D. (1921) ..... 206 W. Monument St.
Murray, Miss Mercedes M. (1926) ..... 1309 W. 42nd St.
Myers, Mrs. Philip (1935) ..... 5 Maryland Ave., Towson, Md.
Myers, Miss Rebecca (1940) ..... 718 Evesham Ave.

Nance, O. H. (1937) ..... 4002 St. Paul St.
Needham, George Fisk (1941) ..... Lutherville, Md.
Nelson, J. Arthur (1921) ..... 227 St. Paul St.
Nelson, John M., Jr. (1941) ..... Eccleston, Md.
Ness, George T., Jr. (1940) ..... 633 Equitable Bldg.
New, Mrs. Jacob S. (1937) ..... 101 W. Monument St.
Niles, Hon. Emory H. (1941) ..... 5600 Waycrest Rd.
Nimmo, Mrs. Nannie Ball (1920) ..... 3207 N. Calvert St.
Norris, Walter B. (1924) ..... Wardour, Annapolis, Md.
Nyburg, Sydney L. (1921) ..... 1504 First National Bank Building

Ober, J. Hambleton (1940) ..... 3803 St. Paul St.
O'Conor, Hon. Herbert R. (Governor of Maryland) (1937) ..... Governor's House, Annapolis, Md.
O'Donovan, John H. (1941) ..... 1615 Bolton St.
O'Donovan, Mrs. John H. (1941) ..... 100 Churchwardens Rd.
O'Ferrall, Alfred J. (1936) ..... 100 St. Paul St.
Old, Francis E., Jr. (1931) ..... 1915 Park Ave.
Oliver, John R., M. D. (1919) ..... 44 Wall St., New York City
Olivier, Stuart (1913) ..... 2 Wyndhurst Ave.
Oppenheimer, Reuben (1924) ..... 1508 1st Nat'l Bank Building
Orem, Mrs. William Chase (1940) ..... 1416 Park Ave.
Orndorff, James Ridgely (1929) ..... 704 Cathedral St.
Orrick, S. Hilton (1938) ..... 209 E. Biddle St.
Owens, Hamilton (1937) ..... The Sun, Charles and Baltimore Sts.
Owens, John W. (1937) ..... 103 Goodale Road

Paca, John P., Jr. (1931) ..... 729 Title Bldg.
Page, Mrs. James (1929) ..... 4208 N. Charles St.
Page, Wm. C. (1912) ..... Calvert Bank

Pannel, Miss Ruby (1940) ..... Rich Neck Farms, Earlville, Md.
Parke, Francis Neal (1910) ..... Westminster, Md.
Parker, Mrs. Jameson (1939) ..... 2418 Pickwick Rd.
Parks, Miss Ida M. (1922) ..... Saratoga Inn, Charles at Pleasant St.
Parran, Mrs. Frank J. (1908) ..... 144 W. Lanvale St.
Parran, Dalrymple (1926) ..... 1708 N. Calvert St.
Passano, Mr. and Mrs. E. B. (1935) ... York Road and Susquehanna Ave., Towson, Md.
Patterson, J. Milton (1941) ..... 1015 Argonne Drive
Pattison, Sam W. (1935) ..... 407 N. Howard St.
Paul, Mrs. D'Arcy (1909) .....
Paul, John Gilman D'Arcy (1927) .. Blythewood Road
Paul, Rev. Peter J., O. S. A. (1938) ..... 6243 S. Fairfield Ave., Chicago, Illinois
Peirce, Mr. and Mrs. William H. (1939) .. 100 University Pkwy., W.
Pentz, Harry G. (1938) ..... 1824 West Baltimore St.
Perine, Mrs. George Corbin (1916) ..... 1124 Cathedral St.
Perine, Washington (1917) ..... 607 Cathedral St.
Perkins, Mifflin Thomas (1935) ..... 3118 Howard Park Ave.
Perkins, Walter F. (1935) ..... 114 St. Dunstan's Rd.
Perlman, Philip B. (1936) ..... Munsey Bldg.
Perrin, W. Kennon (1940) ..... 1506 Bolton St.
Phillips, Col. Albanus (1941) ..... Cambridge, Md.
Pickell, Miss Louise E. (1941) ..... 14 East Mt. Vernon Place
Piper, Mrs. James (1935) ..... Eccleston, Md.
Piper, Samuel Webster (1941) ..... Hagerstown, Md.
Pitts, Miss Mary B. (1927) ..... 100 University Pkwy., W.
Pitts, Tilghman G. (1924) ..... 129 E. Redwood St.
Pleasants, J. Hall, M. D. (1898) ..... 201 Longwood Road, Roland Park
Pleasants, Mrs. Richard H. (1936) ..... 103 W. Monument St.
Poe, Edgar Allan (1929) ..... U. S. F. & G. Building.
Poe, Mrs. William C. (1940) ..... 211 W. Lanvale St.
Pollitt, L. Irving (1916) ..... 1715 Park Place
Porter, Miss Bessie (1926) ..... Greenway Apts.
Post, A. H. S. (1916) ..... Mercantile Trust and Deposit Co.
Potter, Henry Betram (1936) ..... c/o Baltimore Transit Co.
*Powell, Henry Fletcher (1923) ..... 309 W. Lanvale St.
Powell, Rev. Noble C. (1934) ..... 105 W. Monument St.
Presstman, Miss Marie W. (1940) ..... 3911 Canterbury Rd.
Preston, Mrs. Herbert R. (1936) ..... 501 Hawthorn Rd.
Price, Mrs. Juliet Hammond (1924) ..... 3423 Guilford Terrace
Purdum, Mrs. Bradley K. (1923) ..... 5401 Harford Rd.
Purdum, Frank C. (1922) ..... 7017 Harford Rd.
Purkins, Robert T. (1940) ..... 1519 Lakeside Ave.
Purnell, Mrs. Francis H. (1940) ..... 101 E. Mt. Royal Ave.

Quynn, William Rogers (1941) ..... 1802 Thornbury Rd.

Radcliffe, George L., Ph. D. (1908) ..... Fidelity Building
Radcliffe, George M. (1941) ..... 12 Edgevale Rd.
Radoff, Morris Leon, Ph. D. (1937) ..... Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.
Ralston, Mrs. David A. (1935) ..... Severna Park, Md.
Ramey, Mrs. Mary E. W. (1922) ..... Millersville, Md.
Randall, Blanchard (1902) ..... 208 Kimble Rd.
Randall, Blanchard, Jr. (1940) ..... 4901 Greenspring Ave.
Randall, Miss Emily B. (1938) ..... 208 Kimble Rd.
Rawls, William Lee (1938) ..... Maryland Trust Bldg.
Reckord, Milton A. (Adjutant General) (1939) ..... 11 E. Chase St.
Reeder, Mrs. Foster M. (1941) ..... "West Hatton," Mt. Victoria, Md.

Requardt, John M. (1926)
Requardt, Mrs. John M. (1926) — 101 Wendover Rd.
Revell, Edward J. W. (1916) — 1308-09 Fidelity Bldg.
Rice, Duane Ridgely (1938) — 306 Highfield Rd.
Rich, Edward N. (1916) — Union Trust Building
Rich, Mrs. Edward L. (1926) — Catonsville, Md.
Ricker, Mrs. Roger R. (1927) — 3011 Wayne Ave.
Ridgely, Miss Eliza (1893) — 825 Park Ave.
Ridgely, John, Jr. (1916) — Towson, Md.
Rieman, Mrs. Charles Ellet (1909) — 10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
Rieman, Charles Ellet (1898) — 10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
Riggs, Miss Annie Smith (1934) — Brookeville, Md.
Riggs, Henry G. (1937) — 3908 N. Charles St.
Riggs, John Beverley (1936) — Brookeville, Md.
*Riordan, William A. (1938) — Washington Apts.
Risteau, Senator Mary E. W. (1941) — Sharon, Harford Co., Md.
Roach, Erwin R. (1934) — 611 Park Ave.
Roberts, Thomas Carroll (1939) — 3012 Reistertown Rd.
Robertson, David A. (1936) — 2229 N. Charles St.
Robertson, Geo. S. (1921) — Fidelity Building
Robertson, Mrs. Hughes (1940) — Chenar Farm, Easton, Md.
Robinson, J. Ben, D. D. S., (1928) — Medical Arts Bldg.
Robinson, Ralph (1894) — Maryland Trust Bldg.
Robinson, Ralph J. (1934) — 22 Light St.
Rodgers, Maurice Falconer (1937) — 505 Orkney Rd.
Rogers, Miss Maria R. (1936) — Pikesville, Md.
Rogers, Mrs. Wm. F. (1927) — 5308 Stonington Ave., Howard Park
Rohrer, C. W. G., M. D. (1910) — 2814 Ailsa Ave.
Rose, Douglas H. (1898) — 10 South St.
Rose, Douglas H., 2d (1940) — Fidelity Trust Co.
Rose, R. Contee (1935) — 301 Oakdale Rd.
Rouse, John G. (1928) — 403 Somerset Rd.
Rouzer, E. McClure (1920) — Calvert Bldg.
Rowe, Miss Georgia M. (1925) — 2321 N. Calvert St.
Rowland, Samuel C. (1923) — First National Bank Bldg.
Ruark, Elmer F. (1939) — Pres. Wicomico Historical Society, Salisbury, Md.
Rumsey, Charles L., M. D. (1919) — 812 Park Ave.
Rylander, Mrs. Paul N. (1941) — 426 Kenneth Square

Sadtler, Miss Florence P. (1925) — 2730 N. Charles St.
Sappington, Mrs. Edith M. (1937) — 2931 N. Calvert St.
Sasser, Lansdale G. (1941) — Upper Marlboro, Md.
Sattler, Mrs. Augustus Edmund (1937) — 3904 St. Paul St.
Saxe, Van Rensselaer (1941) — 100 W. Monument St.
Scarff, John Henry (1939) — Keyser Bldg.
Scarlett, Charles E., Jr. (1937) — 303 Northway
Schisler, J. Harry (1941) — 301 Cedarcroft Rd.
Schoenfield, Mrs. Frederick (Virginia Berkley Bowie) (1928) — 1409 Hillside Rd., Wynnewood, Penna.
*Scholtz, Karl A. M. (1937) — 334 St. Paul St.
Scott, Miss Dorothy McIlvain (1937) — Warrington Apts.
Scott, James W. (1935) — 213 W. Monument St.
Scott, Mrs. T. Quincy (1937) — Warrington Apts.
Scott, Mrs. William Dodds (1929) (Katherine Fairfax Kimberly) — 3908 Hadley Square
Sealock, Richard B. (1940) — 3819 Penhurst Ave.
*Seeman, Frederick C. (1919) — 110 Hopkins Place

Seitz, Mrs. S. Clayton (1934).....Towson, Md.
Selden, Albert A. (1935).....Rehoboth, Del.
Semmes, Miss Frances C. (1929).....222 W. Lanvale St.
Semmes, John E., Jr. (1916).....First National Bank Bldg.
Semmes, Raphael (1923).....1105 N. Eutaw St.
Severn, Edwin F. (1936).....55 Oregon Ave., Halethorpe, Md.
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Shamer, Maurice Emory (1924).....3300 W. North Ave.
Shannahan, E. McNeal (1936).....Easton, Md.
Shaw, John K., Jr. (1927).....Eccleston Station, Md.
Sherwood, Donald H. (1939).....Box 1604, Baltimore, Md.
Sherwood, John W. (1939).....Baltimore Trust Bldg.
Sherwood, Watson E. (1931).....5201 St. Albans Way
Shipley, Arthur M. (1935).....507 Edgevale Rd.
Shipley, George (1924).....Fairhaven, Easton, Md.
Shoemaker, Mrs. Edward (1919).....1031 N. Calvert St.
Showacre, Miss Elizabeth B. (1932).....3701 Garrison Blvd.
Shreve, Levin Gale (1938).....127 W. Lanvale St.
Shriver, Mrs. Edward Jenkins (1936).....205 Ridgewood Rd.
Shriver, George M. (1935).....Old Court Rd.
Shure, Austin F. (1932).....6009 Greenspring Ave.
Sill, Mrs. Howard (1928).....1203 St. Paul St.
*Simpson, Mrs. Edward (1935).....1528 Bolton St.
Simpson, E. Ridgely (1941).....Ruxton, Md.
Sindall, Robert A. (1942).....202 Tunbridge Rd.
Sioussat, Mrs. Annie Leakin (1891).....1000 N. Charles St.
Skeen, John H. (1927).....First National Bank Bldg.
Skinner, M. E. (1897).....1103 Fidelity Bldg.
*Skirven, Percy G. (1914).....2800 Reistertown Rd.
Slack, Dr. & Mrs. Harry R., Jr. (1938)..8 Bishop's Rd.
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Slaybaugh, J. Paul (1941).....West Nottingham Academy, Colora, Md.
Slemmer, Mrs. William R. (Martha Kemp) (1938)..... } "Kembire," Frederick, Md.
Slingluff, Jesse (1936).....Md. Trust Bldg.
Sloan, Miss Anne M. (1924).....Lonaconing, Md.
Slocum, Mrs. Geo. Washington (1925)...4100 N. Charles St.
Small, C. H. (1942).....Laytonsville, Md.
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Smith, Miss Grace Vernon (1940).....Ridgely, Md.
Smith, Mrs. Henry Edmond (1923).....Blandair, Ellicott City, Md.
Smith, Mrs. James S. (1928).....Annapolis Blvd., Brooklyn, Md.
Smith, R. Manson (1937).....c/o Mercantile Trust Co.
Smith, Mrs. Tunstall (1935).....Preston Apts.
Smith, Winford H., M. D. (1939).....Johns Hopkins Hospital
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Sollers, Basil (1933).....31 Irwin St., Portsmouth, Va.
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Soper, Hon. Morris A. (1917).....102 W. 39th St.
Speer, J. Ramsey (1931).....Trappe, Talbot Co., Md.
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Spencer, Miss Eleanor Patterson (1936)..Goucher College
Spilker, Miss Julia E. (1933).....Northway Apts.
Sprigg, James Cresap (1932).....Allston Apts.
Stanford, John Harwood (1937).....Munsey Bldg.
Stanley, John S. (1936).....First National Bank Bldg.
Stanley, William (1938).....2701 Chesapeake St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
Stanton, Hon. Robert F. (1937)
Stanton, Mrs. Robert F. (1937).... } 853 University Pkwy. W.

Steele, C. E. (1940) ..... Hagerstown, Md.
*Steele, Miss Rosa (1925) ..... 3809 N. Charles St.
Steuart, Lamar Hollyday (1928) ..... 1311 John Street
Steuart, Richard D. (1919) ..... 703 W. University Pkwy.
Steuart, Miss Susan Elliott (1929) ..... 5709 Roland Ave.
Stick, Mrs. Gordon M. F. (Anna Howard Fitchett) (1930) ..... Glenarm, Maryland
Stieff, Gideon N. (1939) ..... Wyman Park Driveway
Stoll, Mrs. Conrad (1926) ..... Brooklyn, Md.
Stork, Wm. B., Lt. U. S. Navy, Ret. (1928) ..... 3947 Canterbury Rd.
Storm, William M. (1926) ..... Frederick, Md.
Stow, John Carroll (1933) ..... 4001 N. Charles St.
Stran, Mrs. Thomas P. (Caroline S. Bansemer) (1929) .. Ambassador Apts.
Straus, Isaac Lobe (1935) ..... Brooklandville, Md.
Stritehoff, Nelson H. (1937) ..... 327 Paddington Rd.
Strong, Gordon (1936) ..... Sugar Loaf Mountain, Dickerson Sta., Md.
Stump, John B. (1937) ..... Bel Air, Md.
Sudler, Miss Elizabeth T. (1941) ..... Salisbury, Md.
Sullivan, Mrs. Felix R., Jr. (1922) ..... 1605 Park Ave.
Swain, Robert L., M.D. (1936) ..... 7712 35th Ave., Jackson Hgts., L. I.
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Swann, Mrs. Sherlock (1941) ..... 5403 St. Albans Way.
*Sweeny, Mrs. Louis F. (1919) ..... 2844 N. Calvert St.
Swope, John L. (1941) ..... Equitable Bldg.
Symington, Mrs. Donald (1938) ..... Darlington, Md.
Symington, John F. (1924) ..... 1407 Philpot St.

Tabler, Dr. H. E. (1926) ..... Box 2, Hancock, Md.
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Tall, Webster C. (1942) ..... 500 Maryland Trust Bldg.
Taylor, Mrs. Clarence M. (1930) ..... 619 Orpington Rd.
Terwilliger, W. Bird (1941) ..... 1532 Rolling Rd., Relay, Md.
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Thomas, Mrs. Harvey C. (1914) ..... Wyman Park Apts.
Thomas, Mrs. James Walter (1935) ..... Cumberland, Md.
Thomas, Mrs. William H. (1940) ..... Westminster, Md.
Thomas, William S. (1915) ..... 211 N. Calvert St.
Thompson, Miss Edith V. (1939) ..... 1412 E. Chase St.
Tierney, Rev. John J., S.S. (1941) ..... St. Charles College, Catonsville, Md.
Tiffany, Herbert T. (1919) ..... Severn Apts.
Tilghman, Lt. Col. Harrison (1917) .... Foxley Hall, Easton, Md.
Tilghman, J. Donnell (1928) ..... Easton, Md.
Tilghman, Tench Francis (1940) ..... 26 Maryland Ave., Annapolis, Md.
Tilghman, W. H. DeCourcy (1941) .... 109 W. Monument St.
Tilghman, Mrs. William H. (Irma B.) (1934) ..... Salisbury, Md.
Tolley, Oscar Kemp (1938) ..... Corbett, Md.
Tompkins, Raymond S. (1942) ..... c/o Baltimore Transit Co.
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Torrence, Mrs. Robert M. (1934) ..... 110 Edgevale Rd.
Tracy, Arthur G. (1933) ..... Hampstead, Md.
Treide, Henry E. (1922) ..... 4201 St. Paul St.
Trimble, I. Ridgeway, M.D. (1939) ..... 8 W. Madison St.
Trippe, Barclay H. (1941) ..... Easton, Md.
Tubman, Mrs. Samuel A. (1921) ..... 2808 N. Calvert St.

Tucker, Mrs. Clarence A. (1922) ..... Sudbrook Park
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Vickery, Stephen G. (1925) ..... Earl Court Apts.
Vincenti, Mrs. Rudolph (1939) ..... 3701 N. Charles St.
Von der Horst, Miss Louise (1928) ..... 747 W. North Ave.

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Walker, Henry M. (1933) ..... 2927 N. Calvert St.
Wallace, Chas. C. (1915) ..... Union Trust Building
Wallace, Frank T. (1936) ..... 11 E. Saratoga St.
Wallis, Miss Adelaide B. (1940) ..... 4201 Somerset Rd.
Walsh, William C. (1941) ..... Liberty Trust Bldg., Cumberland, Md.
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Ward, Miss Catherine Beata (1940) .... 208 E. Biddle St.
Ward, Miss Elizabeth (1933) ..... 1514 Park Ave.
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Warfel, Harry R. (1942) ..... 5601 42nd Ave., Hyattsville, Md.
Warfield, Edwin, Jr. (1914) ..... " Oakdale," Sykesville, Md.
Warfield, Henry M. (1937) ..... Timonium, Md.
Warfield, T. Wallace (1941) ..... 8 Charlcote Place
Waring, Col. J. M. S. (1933) ..... 277 Park Ave., New York City
Waters, J. Seymour T. (1902) ..... 601 Calvert Building
Waters, Miss Mary E. (1916) ..... { c/o English Speaking Union, Rockefeller Centre, New York City
Watkins, Ira D. (1939) ..... Mount Airy, Md.
Watson, Mark Skinner (1938) ..... 1 Merryman Court
Weaver, Lt.-Col. F. P. (1941) ..... Edgewood Arsenal, Md.
Webb, Miss Celeste (1930) ..... 9 Wendover Rd.
Webb-Peploe, Mrs. Laura Hammond (1922) ..... } 3927 Canterbury Rd.
Webber, Charles R. (1920) ..... B. and O. Building
Webster, Mrs. J. Cook (1942) ..... 727 Newington Ave.
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Weiskittel, Harry C. (1938) ..... 3022 St. Paul St.
Weld, Mrs. Charles R. (1937) ..... 119 W. Franklin St.
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Wetherall, Wm. Pinkney (1941) ..... 317 President St.
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Wheeler, Joseph L. (1927) ..... Enoch Pratt Free Library
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White, Mrs. John Odenheimer (1937) ... Sudbrook Park, Md.

White, Mrs. Miles (1941) ..... 4603 Kerneway
Whitfield, Dr. Theodore M. (1938) ..... Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.
Whitham, Lloyd B., M. D. (1923) ..... Towson, Md.
Whitridge, William (1919) ..... Garrett Bldg.
Wickes, Col. Joseph L. (1923) ..... c/o Public Service Commission, Munsey Building
Wicks, Mrs. Walter (1928) .....
Wickes, Walter (1928) ..... Brooklandville, Md.
Wiegand, Henry H. (1923) ..... 4614 Roland Ave.
Wild, Mrs. Michael B. (1922) ..... 928 Cathedral St.
Wilkinson, A. L., M. D. (1923) ..... Raspeburg, Baltimore, Md.
*Wilkinson, Charles M. (1933) ..... 638 W. North Ave.
Willard, Daniel (1913) ..... B. & O. Building
Willard, Miss Jessie C (1931) ..... 3907 Greenway
Willard, Samuel L. (1937) ..... 3907 Greenway
Williams, E. A. (1920) ..... 1430 John St.
Williams, Miss Elizabeth Chew (1916) ..... 108 W. 39th St.
Williams, Mrs. Huntington (Mary Camilla McKim) (1937) ..... 620 W. Belvedere Ave.
Williams, Mrs. N. Winslow ..... 4112 Greenway
Williams, Raymond S. (1940) ..... First National Bank Bldg.
Williams, Roger B. (1928) ..... 3209 N. Charles St.
Willson, Mrs. Notley (Mary R. Camp) (1917) ..... Rock Hall, Md.
Wilson, Mrs. John Glover (1937) ..... 325 Tuscany Rd.
Wilson, Miss Virginia A. (1926) ..... Northway Apts.
Winchester, Marshall (1902) ..... 21 W. Chase St.
Wirgman, Harold F., Lt. Col. U. S. M. C., Ret. (1936) ..... Annapolis Club, Annapolis, Md.
Wood, Frederick Wm. (1926) .....
Wood, Mrs. Frederick Wm. (1926) ..... 2429 Keyworth Ave.
Worthington, Ellicott H. (1917) ..... Calvert Bldg.
Worthington, Lt. Leland Griffith (1935) ..... Berwyn, Md.
Wright, J. Purdon (1941) ..... Lake, Baltimore Co., Md.
Wright, W. H. DeCoursey (1921) ..... Monkton, Md.
Wroth, Lawrence C. (1909) ..... John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
Wroth, Peregrine, Jr., M. D. (1921) ..... Hagerstown, Md.

Young, Andrew J., Jr. (1916) ..... 34 Central Savings Bank Bldg.
Young, Mrs. Henry S. (1939) ..... 106 Bridge St., Elkton, Md.
Young, Hugh Hampton, M. D. (1934) ..... Cold Spring Lane
Young, J. Forney (1940) ..... Hagerstown, Md.

Zimmerman, Louis S. (1939) ..... Severna Park, Md.
Zimmermann, Charles W. (1929) ..... 1922 W. Baltimore St.
Zoller, Mrs. Henry., Jr. (1938) ..... 11 Charlcote Place

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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1843, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

Since 1906 the Society has published *The Maryland Historical Magazine.* There are monthly meetings from October to May, inclusive, at which addresses of a historical or literary nature are given. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to *The Maryland Historical Magazine* is included in the membership fee of five dollars, as well as the use of the Society's collections and admission to the monthly lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open on every day of the week except Sundays.

The Society depends on the people of Maryland and its friends elsewhere for its maintenance. The gift of documents and books and donations or bequests to the endowment fund, have made it possible to build up a notable historical library. The collections include not only manuscripts dealing with the social, political and military history of the State, but also letters, diaries, business accounts, maps, newspapers, pamphlets, prints and photographs. Only by a continuance of interest in the Society will it be possible to preserve and catalogue its present collections and, of equal importance, to acquire new documents recording the rich history of the people of Maryland. In short, the usefulness of the Maryland Historical Society depends not only upon the number of its members, but upon their generosity as well.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

No. IX. The James McCormick Family
(c. 1804)
Owned by the Maryland Historical Society

Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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JOSHUA JOHNSTON, THE FIRST AMERICAN NEGRO PORTRAIT PAINTER

By J. HALL PLEASANTS

A nebulous figure, a Negro painter of considerable ability and with a style peculiarly his own, was a limner of portraits in Baltimore during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth. As far as can be learned, Joshua Johnston, or Johnson, was the first individual in the United States with Negro blood to win for himself a place as a portrait painter, for it was not until many years later that any other member of his race attempted portraiture with even a mediocre degree of success. He deservedly should arrest the attention, not only of those interested in the history of American painting, but also of students of the cultural development of the American Negro.

Of Scipio Morehead, said to have been the first American Negro painter of whom there is any record, we know practically nothing. Phillis Wheatley (1753?-1784), the New England Negro poetess of the latter eighteenth century, dedicates a poem written some time before 1773 to "S. M.—a Young African Painter on Seeing his Works." From these verses it appears that he painted allegorical landscapes, one Aurora as symbolic of dawn and another bearing on the legend of Damon and Pythias. No light is thrown upon the painter's residence nor has any contemporary reference to him been found. The first American Negro portrait painter of whom there has hitherto been a record was Robert S. Duncanson (1821-1871) of Cincinnati, a mulatto of

mixed Scotch Canadian and Negro blood, who studied in England and achieved some contemporary notice in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. He also painted allegorical subjects and landscapes. Edward N. Bannister (1833-1901), said to have been a Negro of Canadian birth, was a landscape painter who lived in Providence and founded the Art Club there. He has hitherto been considered the first American Negro whose painting reached the level of mediocre competence.

The writer in a paper on Johnston and his work, published in *The Walpole Society Note Book* for 1939,* listed and described thirteen paintings by him. Since that time eight more canvases to be attributed to him have been found, bringing the number of his recognized paintings up to twenty-one. It is of interest that of these eight additional paintings, four have come to light as the result of the reproduction in color in the magazine *Life* for December 9, 1940, of the group painting of " The James McCormick Family " by Johnston (No. IX), which, when seen by an observant lady with a Baltimore background whose home is in Illinois and who is the owner of a similar group, " The Kennedy Long Family " (No. VI), made her feel certain that to Johnston was also to be attributed her own family group as well as three other Long family portraits. This McCormick group, a possession of the Maryland Historical Society, was reproduced in *Life* while it was on exhibition in the " Survey of American Painting," held at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, in the autumn of 1940.

The thirteen paintings described in 1939 portray twenty-two subjects; these eight additional paintings depict twelve more subjects, bringing the number up to thirty-four in all. None of the canvases are signed or dated, but in nearly every instance, especially where children are portrayed, the date of painting can be quite accurately determined from the ages of the subjects. This series of twenty-one canvases, painted over a period from about 1789 to 1825, shows that the painting activities of Johnston extended over some thirty-five years. The subjects of many of

* This paper was also reprinted in pamphlet form by the Walpole Society under its title in the Note Book: *An Early Baltimore Negro Portrait Painter—Joshua Johnston.* By J. Hall Pleasants MCMXL (copyright). Through the courtesy of the Walpole Society nearly all of the material that appeared in the pamphlet has been made use of in the present paper, which records also eight additional paintings by Johnston that have since come to light.

the paintings are members of aristocratic or wealthy slave-holding families of Baltimore of that period.

Curiously conflicting family traditions exist as to the reputed ownership of the Negro artist. Three of the present possessors of certain of these paintings severally declare that the painter was a slave in the family of a forebear, but each names as the master a different Baltimorean, contemporary, but unrelated to either of the other two. Thus the late owner of the portraits of the two Smith children had always heard it asserted in her family that the painter was "a Negro owned by General Samuel Smith (1752-1839) of Montebello, father of the two subjects." General Smith won distinction both in the Revolution and in the War of 1812, and was Secretary of the Navy in Jefferson's cabinet as well as United States Senator from Maryland. The owner of the portrait of little Charles Herman Wilmans is just as certain that the painter of her portrait was a Negro blacksmith, the slave of General John Stricker (1759-1825), another Marylander who distinguished himself in the defense of Baltimore in the War of 1812, and in this she is supported by various descendants of the General. The owner of the painting of Mrs. John Moale (Ellin North) and her granddaughter, Ellin North Moale, is not only equally definite as to the ownership of the slave painter by his ancestor, John Moale (1731-1798), husband of the subject, who was colonel of the Baltimore Town militia during the Revolution, presiding justice of the County Court, and a leading merchant and landowner, but also gives to the artist the name William Johnson. He further declares that he was cared for in his latter years in the Moale household during a prolonged illness from consumption from which he eventually died, and in this tradition the owner of the painting is supported by various descendants of Mrs. Moale. Among the Moale descendants it is also said that the artist began his painting career as the slave of a well-known artist whose name cannot now be recalled. The last tradition which will be mentioned, although perhaps important, is that handed down in the family of Hugh McCurdy (c. 1765-1805), a prosperous Baltimore merchant, whose descendant now owns the two very attractive canvases portraying Mrs. McCurdy and three of her little daughters. The owner of these McCurdy paintings makes no claim as to ancestral ownership, nor does she know the

name or race of the painter, but hands down the tradition that he came to Baltimore from the West Indies. The possible significance of this statement will be discussed later. It is of interest that in only one of these four instances is the painter traditionally given a name. That he was originally a blacksmith by trade as one tradition asserts, seems improbable.

Certain conclusions, based upon statements by several of the owners of these twenty-one paintings as to the identity of the artist, seem to be justified. Three of the owners assert positively that the painter was a Negro and a slave, and a fourth, who has heard no tradition as to race, that he was from the West Indies. The remaining owners say that there are no family traditions as to who was the painter of their portraits, nor as to his race. In the case of the Moale painting, the present owner further declares that the painter was a slave named William *Johnson.* It seems fair to conclude, however, from the affirmative evidence that the painter was a Negro or mulatto, and that at some period of his life he had been a slave. On the other hand, it is taxing one's credulity too much to believe that during a painting period covering about a decade, when the Smith, Wilmans and Moale portraits were executed, that our artist was successively owned and made use of as a professional portrait painter by these three very prominent Baltimoreans.

From evidence which will now be produced, it seems quite certain that our painter's name was *Joshua* Johnston, or Johnson, not *William* Johnson as one tradition asserts, and that whether originally a slave or not, he was a " free Negro householder " for some thirty years of his Baltimore residence. An examination of the Baltimore directories, beginning with the first, that for 1796, and ending with the directory for 1824, reveals the name of Joshua Johnston, or Johnson, listed as a portrait painter, or limner, in these and nearly all the intervening years for which directories exist. In only one of the directories for this period, that for 1817, are Negroes listed separately, appearing at the end of the book as " Free Householders of Colour," and in this list we find Joshua *Johnston* as a portrait painter on Nelson Street, Old Town. In other years the names of free Negro householders are designated as " black man " or by a †, and are scattered throughout the directories among the white householders. Slaves were

certainly never listed in the directories. Although in no other instance is there any indication of Johnston's race to be found in the directory listings, there can be little question that he was a Negro, probably a light mulatto, for to have incorrectly listed a white man as a Negro would have been a serious matter, and would have laid open the directory publisher to a suit for libel. Why his race was ignored in the other nine directory listings in which his name occurs and where one would expect a racial designation, it is difficult to explain, unless he were a mulatto of such light color as to have deceived the directory enumerators. In the Federal Census for 1810, Joshua Johnson and all his household appear as of Baltimore, but without street address, and are thus listed: free white *males* under 10 years—1; between 10 and 15 years—2; between 16 and 45 years—1; *females*, under 10 years—2; between 10 and 15 years—1; between 16 and 45 years—1; other free persons—1. In the Census for 1820 no Joshua Johnson, or Johnston, is listed.

Our limner seems to have constantly changed his address, but appears invariably in the directories for a period of nearly thirty years as a portrait painter or limner. In 1796 as Joshua *Johnston* he was on "German str. between Hanover and Howard str.," but whether on the north or south side of German is not noted, a matter of interest in this listing, for it is worthy of note that Colonel John Moale, whom one tradition assigns as his master, then had his town house and garden on the south side of German Street in the block bounded by German, Hanover, Lombard, and Sharp streets. Possibly Johnston was given painting-room space in a small outbuilding on the Moale property. Without tracing in detail all of Joshua's wanderings, we find him as *Johnson* successively in 1800 in Primrose Alley; in 1802, 1803, 1804 at 52 North Gay Street, and in 1810 at 99 High Street (Old Town); in 1814 he had moved to Strawberry Alley on Fells Point; in 1817, once more as *Johnston* he was on Nelson Street, Old Town. But again as *Johnson* in 1819 he had returned to the city proper, and was on St. Paul's Lane near Centre Street; in 1824 he had moved back to Old Town where he was on Sleigh's Lane near Spring Street. After this his name disappears from the directory, probably because of his death. In every entry his name appears as *Johnson*, except in the 1796 and 1817 directories, when it is

spelled *Johnston.* Between 1804 and 1810 only three directories were published—those for 1805, 1807, and 1808. The name of Joshua, under any spelling, is not to be found in these three issues. It is possible that his name does not appear because he was not an actual *householder* at this time, or because he may have been living in the " precincts," as the suburbs of the city were then called, and thus have been outside the area listed in the directories. Or it is even possible that he left Baltimore and became an itinerant painter during this period. In support of this last possibility it should be noted that among the Baltimore paintings by him which can be quite definitely dated, none fall into the 1805-1808 period, although we have examples apparently painted in the years 1804 and 1809. No mention of him has been found in contemporary public records or newspapers. It seems best to adopt the spelling *Johnston* for his name, as it is more likely that this form would have been carelessly entered in the directory listings as *Johnson*, than the reverse.

Affirmative evidence that Johnston was not a slave is afforded by his listing in the Census of 1810 as a *Free* Householder, and by the fact that he was classed as a *Free* Householder of Colour in the 1817 directory. It seems equally certain that he was not a slave at any time during the entire period from 1796 to 1824 when he was listed in the directories. Nor is it credible that a succession of prominent Baltimore slave-holders would have maintained in servitude a talented artist, who painted to order portraits of their friends and acquaintances, and have thus profited over a period of many years by the work of his brush. That he was at first a slave, or house servant, of a portrait painter from whom he learned to paint is more than probable, and that he was allowed to earn enough eventually to purchase his freedom is quite likely, for it was in this way that many capable Negro artisans and tradesmen were given the opportunity to earn their freedom.

Who was the limner's " master," in an artistic or in a legal sense, it would be of great interest to learn. Painting in the early seventeen nineties in Baltimore were Charles Willson Peale, Charles Peale Polk, and Rembrandt Peale, as well as a number of less well-known portrait painters. Certainly some of these portraits by Joshua Johnston have a striking generic resemblance to the work of these three members of the Peale family. One, that

of Mrs. Abraham White and her child (No. XX), is attributed by the owner to Rembrandt Peale and bears a certain resemblance to the latter's earliest work, and another, that of Captain Thomas Sprigg (No. XVI), by its owner to Charles Willson Peale.

It must be admitted however, that the tradition in the McCurdy family that this painter was from the West Indies does not fit well into the theory of a Peale-Polk influence. In the years 1793 to 1795 there arrived in Baltimore from the island of Santo Domingo more than one thousand French refugees who had fled from there as a result of the Negro insurrection against the whites which had broken out in 1793. Many of these refugees had brought with them Negro slaves or servants who had remained faithful to their masters. Among these émigrés with French names there were a number of silversmiths and painters who now began to appear for the first time in the Baltimore records. It is possible that Joshua Johnston was from Santo Domingo, but if so, he certainly adopted a new name, possibly to fit better into a new environment. Be this as it may, some of this group of paintings have rather a French primitive flavor.

The twenty-one paintings which can be unquestionably attributed to the Negro portrait painter have many striking stylistic characteristics in common. All are drawn in the same stiff manner, with a peculiar rigidity of arms and hands, and, it may be added, of legs and feet, where the standing figure is shown. With few exceptions the face is shown about three-quarters full. The eyes and mouth are treated in the same manner in all the portraits. The eyes are always directed forward and the upper lids painted in the same manner. The mouths are all drawn in rather tightly. All the subjects are depicted staring intently, apparently at their painter. In the group paintings there is nothing in the facial expressions of the subjects to indicate the least relation of one to any other member of the group. In twelve of the twenty-one canvases some seventeen children in all are portrayed, either alone or in family groups. The pose of these is strikingly similar. In nineteen of the twenty-one paintings the rather expressionless hands are shown, and in every instance holding such objects as a letter, chart, book, gloves, riding crop, basket, parasol, pencil, whistle, sextant, drawing-board, fruit, or cake. In five paintings, be it noted, strawberry leaves and berries, painted with meticulous

care and in an identical manner, and in two portraits cherries, are to be seen, and the strawberry and cherry baskets also show identical basketwork. Where trees or vines are used in the background, they are painted in the same manner. In two portraits, members of the Bankson family, identically the same earring is worn. In eight canvases, either single figures or family groups, the subjects are seated on upholstered settees or chairs of Sheraton type, studded with innumerable brass-headed tacks, which has given rise to the facetious soubriquet, "the brass-tack artist." The backgrounds are usually plain and sombre. In six instances a rather dark curtain is to be seen, and in four this is red. In five of the paintings an open casement discloses a landscape view. When the floor is shown, as in two instances, it is tessellated. In three of the child portraits there is introduced as an accessory object, an extraordinary looking creature, a white dog with a bushy, squirrel-like tail and pig-like head, either lying on a subject's lap or seated on hind legs. A characteristic cord and tassel is introduced in three paintings, either as a curtain-pull or dress decoration. Thirteen of the sixteen children and three of the mothers are shown in white dresses. In at least four of the canvases a child wears red slippers. The costumes are painted with considerable care, especially the lace collars, cuffs, and caps of the women and children.

In all, twenty-one paintings so completely fit into the Joshua Johnston group as to justify their inclusion without qualification. Three of these, the portraits of Mrs. John Moale and grandchild, and those of the two Smith children, while conforming in general, have, however, a certain fuzzy appearance not found in the remaining more sharply drawn paintings. This fuzziness appears to the writer to be due to over-painting in some old restoration. Four of the paintings are in very bad condition.

To appraise fairly Joshua Johnston as an American painter of the late eighteenth century we should not set our standards unreasonably high. He must in a way be classed with the primitives, although whatever his primitive instincts may have been, his style was certainly influenced by the Peale-Polk family group. Hard

linear painting, well executed and attractive in Charles Willson Peale, was debased by his nephew, Charles Peale Polk; Johnston carried this descending scale still further. The stiff handling by Polk of legs, arms, and figure was carried to a greater degree of rigidity by the Negro, who certainly saw the work of Polk, painting much in Baltimore during the eighties and nineties. Polk may well have been his "master" in a dual sense. One is also reminded of the stiff figures of Ralph Earl—a painter whom Johnston certainly never saw. There is little attempt at modelling; our Negro painter was a two-dimensional man. Many of the mannerisms of Polk were employed. Polk's hands very often have a peculiar pudgy appearance; this is also true of Joshua. Polk applied his paint sparingly, so did Joshua. As a colorist, however, Johnston was more given to the sombre, dark backgrounds, and black or white costumes: Polk often vied with the rainbow. Polk, much more than any other local painter of this period, revelled in accessories; Johnston not only used accessories freely, but employed several of those of which Polk was especially fond.

The writer is hopeful that at any time a contemporary newspaper, letter, or diary reference to Joshua Johnston may turn up, which will clear away much of the uncertainty that now enshrouds him, and verify the truth of the tradition of a "Negro slave artist" who flourished in Baltimore during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and absolutely identify him with the very real Baltimore limner, Joshua Johnston, who is recorded as a portrait painter for over thirty years.

The writer gratefully acknowledges the helpful suggestions which he has received in the critical study of several of these paintings from Mrs. Anne Bolling Wheeler of Boston and Mr. Macgill James of Washington, two highly competent students of early American portraiture. His thanks are due to the Frick Art Reference Library for permission to reproduce its photographs of several of the paintings, and to the Walpole Society for allowing him to use the material in his earlier paper on Johnston.

I

MRS. ANDREW BEDFORD BANKSON

(c. 1780–)

and child

SUBJECTS: There is some doubt as to the identity of the subject. The owner, Mr. Hugh Purviance King, who is a great-grandson of Mrs. James Beatty (No. III), and also the owner of this portrait, has always heard this subject called "Auntie Bankson." The writer, from an examination of the Bankson pedigree, believes that the subject of this painting is probably Mrs. Andrew Bedford Bankson, a sister-in-law of Mrs. Beatty, but the strong likeness between the subjects of these two portraits raises a question as to this. The subject of No. II is thought to be Mrs. Bankson's husband. There is no family tradition as to the name of the child.

DATE: c. 1804

SIZE: Canvas 32″ × 28″

DESCRIPTION: The mother and child are shown seated, three-quarters length, facing the spectator. The mother, seated at the left, is a rather good looking woman in her early twenties, and has brown hair and grey eyes. Her hair is bound with a double circlet of light beads, and the earring which she shows in her right ear is identical with that worn by her sister-in-law, Mrs. James Beatty (No. III). She wears a light brown dress with a lace ruffle around the low neck. Her right hand, resting on the lap of the child seated at her left, holds a bunch of strawberry leaves and berries. The child, apparently a girl of perhaps three years of age, sits at the right end of the sofa. She has light hair and blue eyes. She wears a high-waisted white muslin dress and holds in her right hand a strawberry which she is raising to her lips. The Sheraton sofa is covered with green material and is studded with brass headed tacks. The background is light brown. There is a dark curtain at the upper right from which hangs a white tassel. Compare the positions of the subjects with Nos. IV, V, XII.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mr. Hugh Purviance King of Hewlett, Long Island. The painting, with Nos. II and III, has passed by descent to the owner who is a great-grandson of Mrs. James Beatty (Elizabeth Grant Bankson [No. III]), sister-in-law of the subject.

ATTRIBUTIONS: The owner says that he knows of no tradition in his immediate family as to who the painter was. It is to be noted, however, that the husband of Mrs. Bankson, one of the subjects, was an uncle of Charles Herman Wilmans (No. XXI). The Wilmans portrait is said by its owner, Mrs. Horner, to have been painted by the Negro slave who belonged to General John Stricker. Mrs. Stricker was the maternal aunt of the subject's husband. The writer definitely attributes this to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 17834. Walpole *Note Book*, No. I.

No. I. Mrs. Andrew Bedford Bankson
(c. 1780-)
and child

Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library

No. III. Mrs. James Beatty
(*Elizabeth Grant Bankson*)
(1775-1851)

Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library

II

MR. BANKSON

Andrew Bedford Bankson (?)

(1773–)

SUBJECT: The owner thinks that this is the portrait of his cousin, Gunning Bedford Bankson, a son of Mrs. Elizabeth Bankson (No. I), and a nephew of Mrs. James Beatty (No. III), and that the subject is identical with the child of No. I, painted, he thinks, some twenty years earlier. The writer cannot agree with this identification as he believes that all three of these Bankson family portraits (Nos. I, II, and III), which were painted by the same artist, were painted at about the same time, and that the child of No. I is a girl. The costume of this subject, with powdered hair and queue, is of about the same date, c. 1804, as the others of this group. Mrs. Beatty (née Bankson) had a brother, Andrew Bedford Bankson (b. 1773), who may be the subject of this painting and it is tentatively identified as such.

DATE: c. 1804

SIZE: Canvas 32½″ × 28″

DESCRIPTION: The subject, a man of perhaps thirty, is shown three-quarters length, seated, turned slightly to the left. His grey eyes are directed forward. Powdered hair, apparently tied at the back. In his left hand he holds a sealed letter and his right hand rests on his leg. He wears a brown coat, with white waistcoat showing below, white stock, and cuffs, and grey trousers. He is seated on a mahogany chair. The background is brown, with what appears to be a curtain in the upper right. Although in bad condition it is, however, definitely of the Joshua Johnston group.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mr. Hugh Purviance King of Hewlett, Long Island. The painting has passed, with Nos. I and III, by descent to the owner, who is a great-grandson of the subject's sister, Mrs. James Beatty (No. III).

OWNER'S ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that he knows of no tradition in his immediate family as to who the painter was. It is to be noted, however, that the portrait of this subject's nephew, Charles Herman Wilmans (No. XXI), is said by its owner, Mrs. Horner, to have been painted by a Negro slave who belonged to General John Stricker. Mrs. Stricker, the General's wife, was a maternal aunt of this subject. The writer definitely attributes this to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 17835.

III

MRS. JAMES BEATTY

(Mrs. Carl Heinrich Wilmans)

(Elizabeth Grant Bankson)

(1775–1851)

SUBJECT: Mrs. Carl Heinrich Wilmans of Baltimore. She was born in Philadelphia in 1775, and died in Baltimore June 5, 1851. Her maiden name was Elizabeth Grant Bankson. She married, c. 1795, Carl Heinrich Wilmans (1769-1798), a Baltimore merchant, by whom she was the mother of Charles Herman Wilmans (No. XXI) also painted by Joshua Johnston. She married secondly, James Beatty, also a Baltimore merchant, by whom she had issue.

DATE: c. 1804; probably when her son's portrait was painted.

SIZE: Canvas 20″ × 15¾″

DESCRIPTION: The subject is a handsome young woman of apparently twenty-five to thirty years of age. This is a head and shoulders portrait with the body and head shown turned slightly to the left. She has grey eyes and reddish-brown hair. She wears a low cut black dress trimmed about the neck with white lace. The earring which is to be seen in her left ear is identical with that worn by her sister-in-law, Mrs. Andrew Bedford Bankson (No. I). Hanging over the front of her left shoulder is a twisted white cord and tassel. There is an olive grey background.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mr. Hugh Purviance King, of Hewlett, Long Island. The painting has passed, with Nos. I and III, by direct descent to the owner, who is a great-grandson of the subject by her second husband, James Beatty.

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that he knows of no tradition in his immediate family as to who the painter was. It is to be noted, however, that the portrait of the subject's son, Charles Herman Wilmans (No. XXI), is said by its owner, Mrs. Horner, to have been painted by the Negro slave who belonged to General John Stricker. Mrs. Stricker, the General's wife, was a maternal aunt of this subject. The writer attributes this definitely to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 17836. Walpole *Note Book*, No. III. Baltimore *Sun*, Dec. 22, 1940.

IV

CAPTAIN THOMAS KELL

(c. 1745–1790)

SUBJECT: Capt. Thomas Kell of Fell's Point, Baltimore, and Kellville, Harford County, Md. He was born in England c. 1745, and spent most of his life in Maryland. He died at Guadaloupe, West Indies, in the autumn of 1790, while on a voyage there. He was a sea captain and is said to have commanded the privateers *Dolphin* and *Little Davy* in the Revolution. He married, May 30, 1767, Aliceanna Bond (c. 1748-1814) (whose companion portrait is described under No. V), by whom he had fifteen children.

DATE: c. 1789-1790, as it is the companion portrait of that of his wife who is painted with her daughter Pamelia, one of the youngest of their fifteen children.

SIZE: Canvas c. 34″ × 28″

DESCRIPTION: This painting is in wretched condition. It shows a young middle-aged man with head and body turned slightly to the left. Hair dark. He wears a green velvet coat with white jabot and light waistcoat, and holds a letter in his left hand. Background dark red hangings.

OWNERSHIP: The painting is owned by Mrs. Edward Alexander of Alexandria, Va., as is the companion portrait, that of the subject's wife and daughter (No. V).

ATTRIBUTION: There is no family tradition as to who was the painter. The writer feels certain from the photograph (he has not seen the original) that this is a very early painting by Joshua Johnston; the companion portrait of the subject's wife and daughter is a completely characteristic and rather crude example of his work—the earliest so far found.

REPRODUCTION: Owner's photograph.

V

MRS. THOMAS KELL

(Aliceanna Bond)

(c. 1748–1814)

and daughter

SUBJECT: (1) Mrs. Thomas Kell of Fell's Point, Baltimore, and Kellville, Harford Co., Md. She was born c. 1748, and died in Kellville, Apr. 21, 1814. She was the daughter of John Bond (1712-1791), a Quaker, who lived both at Fell's Point and at Kellville, and his wife, Aliceanna Webster (d. 1765). She married, May 30, 1767, Capt. Thomas

Kell (c. 1745-1790) (see No. IV), of Fell's Point and Kellville, by whom she had fifteen children. She was the mother of Judge Thomas Kell, Jr. (1772-1846) of the Baltimore County Court.

(2) Pamelia Kell, one of her younger children. Not traced.

DATE: c. 1789-1790

SIZE: Canvas c. 34″ × 28″

DESCRIPTION: This painting is in bad condition. It shows a rather young middle-aged woman turned slightly to the right with a little girl of perhaps two years of age sitting on her lap. Her hair and eyes are dark. She wears a white cap and white fichu over a maroon colored dress, and holds in her right hand three cherries and a bunch of grapes. The child is dressed entirely in white with a toy or whistle in her right hand and bunch of grapes in her left. The background is dark red.

OWNERSHIP: The painting was owned in 1930 by Mrs. Edward Alexander, of Alexandria, Va., and is the companion portrait of that of her husband, No. IV.

ATTRIBUTION: There is no family tradition as to who is the painter. The writer feels certain from the photograph (he has not seen the original) that this is a very early but typical painting by Joshua Johnston. Not only are the features, pose and dress of both subjects characteristic, but the fruit and fan held in the hands are equally so.

REPRODUCTION: Owner's photograph.

VI

THE KENNEDY LONG FAMILY

SUBJECTS: (Numbered from left to right)

(1) Mrs. Kennedy Long (Elizabeth Kennedy) (1779-1850) of Baltimore, Md., and Pittsfield, Ill. She was the daughter of Andrew Kennedy (1751-1811), a native of Tyrone, Ireland, who settled in Pennsylvania and served in the Revolution. She married, Nov. 16, 1797, her first cousin, Kennedy Long (1763-1824), an Irishman from Belfast, who came to Baltimore and was a prominent merchant here. They were the parents of eight children, the three eldest of whom are shown in this painting. Mrs. Long, after the death of her husband, removed in 1830 with her family to the west, spending her latter years there in Pittsfield, Illinois.

(2) Capt. Andrew Kennedy Long, U. S. N. (1804-1867), of Baltimore Md., and Carlisle, Pa. He was the third child of Kennedy and Elizabeth Long. He married, Apr. 18, 1837, Marion Lowry Donaldson (1813-1870), by whom he had six children.

(3) Eliza Long (Mrs. George Balfour) (1802-1870), of Baltimore,

No. VI. The Kennedy Long Family

Mrs. Long (*Elizabeth Kennedy*) (*1779-1850*), *and three eldest children*

Md., Norfolk, Va., and Pittsfield, Ill. She was the second child of Kennedy and Elizabeth Long. She married Dr. George Balfour of Norfolk, a surgeon, U. S. N., on whose death a few years later she moved to Pittsfield, Ill.

(4) George Hunter Long (1798-1816), of Baltimore. He died in Baltimore in boyhood.

DATE: c. 1805, from the apparent ages of the children.

SIZE: Canvas 41″ × 53″

DESCRIPTION: The mother, shown three-quarters length, is seated at the end of the sofa to the left, with her three children arranged in the order of their ages, the children either standing on the sofa, seated on it, or standing on the floor. The mother has dark hair and blue eyes, the children yellow hair and blue eyes. The mother, the baby, and the little girl wear white dresses. The mother wears a red flower, the two younger children have coral necklaces, and the baby's whistle, the cherries held by the boy and those in the basket, as well as the seat of the footstool are red. The mahogany sofa is covered with black horsehair held in place by the brass tacks so dear to the heart of this artist.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mrs. Albyn C. Adams of Pittsfield, Ill., a great-granddaughter of Mrs. Kennedy Long. This painting was given by the latter to one of her younger sons, Thomas Jefferson Long (b. 1808), who gave it to his daughter, Isadora Eliza Long (Mrs. George Harvey), of St. Louis, who gave it to her cousin, Mrs. Albyn C. Adams, a descendant of Mrs. Kennedy Long's youngest daughter, Amelia Juliana Long (Mrs. Thomas Worthington) (1818-1881).

ATTRIBUTIONS: It was the discerning eye of Mrs. Adams, the owner, who noticed the strong stylistic resemblance between her painting and "The James McCormick Family" group (No. IX), reproduced in color in the magazine *Life* for Dec. 9, 1940, when it was on exhibition at the Survey of American Painting, held at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1940. This caused her to bring to the writer's attention her painting, as well as three other Long family portraits by Joshua Johnston (Nos. VII, VIII, XIX). There is no tradition in the owner's family as to who painted any of these four portraits; all, however, are typical examples of Johnston's work.

REPRODUCTION: A photograph made for the owner. *Journal Illinois State Historical Society*, Sept. 1941, p. 366.

VII

HENRY LONG

(1774-1850)

SUBJECT: Henry Long, a native of Belfast, Ireland, who settled in Baltimore about 1791, removing in 1830 to Atlas, Illinois. He was the son of William Long of Belfast, and a brother and business partner of Kennedy Long of Baltimore (No. VI). He was a Baltimore merchant. He married first, Aug. 24, 1809, Eliza Ann Gittings of "Long Green," Baltimore County, by whom he had two sons; and secondly, Aug. 5, 1823, Emeline Green, by whom he had eight children. The oldest of the children by his second wife was Jesse Green Long, the subject of No. VIII. He died in Atlas in 1850.

DATE: c. 1805

SIZE: Canvas 30″ × 25″

DESCRIPTION: A man of perhaps twenty-five to thirty years of age, shown three-quarters length, seated on brown chair. He faces the spectator one-quarter front to the right. His hair is dark brown. He wears a white collar and frill, a black coat with brass buttons and a yellow waistcoat. He holds an open book in his right hand. The background is reddish brown.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mrs. Herbert A. Tuohy, of New York City, a great-granddaughter of the subject. The painting passed from the subject to his son, Jesse Green Long (No. VIII), to the latter's son, Richard Henry Long, and from him to his daughter, Mrs. Tuohy.

ATTRIBUTIONS: There is no tradition in the owner's family as to who was the painter. It is the writer's opinion that this is a typical Joshua Johnston painting, the features and pose strongly resembling nos. II, XV and XVI.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 34148.

VIII

JESSE GREEN LONG

SUBJECT: Jesse Green Long of Baltimore, Md., and Pike Co., Ill. He was the eldest son of Henry Long (1774-1850) (No. VII) of Balto., Md., and Atlas, Ill., and his second wife, Emeline Green. He was born about 1822-1823.

DATE: c. 1825

SIZE: Canvas 16″ × 12″

DESCRIPTION: This is a half-length painting of a child of about two

years of age, standing, with head turned slightly to right, wearing a dark dress; he is about to eat a strawberry held in his right hand. This description is from a very poor snapshot.

OWNERSHIP: Unknown, but it belongs to a descendant of the subject living in Illinois.

ATTRIBUTION: There is no tradition as to the painter of this portrait. It is one of the group of four Long family paintings which in the writer's opinion are obviously by Joshua Johnston. It is of interest, however, that if the subject is correctly identified, it must have been painted at least as late as 1824-1825, or more than a decade after any other portrait is known to have been painted by Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: A poor snapshot of the painting shows it to be in very bad condition.

IX

THE JAMES McCORMICK FAMILY

(Frontispiece)

SUBJECTS: (Numbered from left to right)

(5) James McCormick (1763-1841), of Baltimore. He was born in county Tyrone, Ireland, in 1763, and died in Washington, D. C., June 16, 1841. He was the youngest of three brothers who settled in Alexandria, Virginia, soon after the Revolution. He removed to Baltimore, where he was first employed by the firm of John P. Pleasants & Sons, merchants, and, although unrelated, gave the name Pleasants to two of his children. Later he engaged in business for himself as a merchant at 236 Baltimore Street. He married first, April 12, 1798, Rachel Ridgely Lux (1762-1810). He married secondly, in 1813, Elizabeth Anderson. His first wife, Rachel, and three of his four children, are shown in this painting.

(1) Mrs. McCormick (Rachel Ridgely Lux) (1762-1810). She was the daughter of Colonel Darby Lux, Jr. (1737-1795) of "Mount Airy," Baltimore County, and his wife, Rachel Ridgely (1734-1813). She died November 26, 1810.

(2) William Lux McCormick (1803-liv. 1826). He was born March 8, 1803, and married March 15, 1826, Esther Hough Cottman (1806-) of Somerset County, Maryland. He has not been traced further.

(3) Sophia Pleasants McCormick (c. 1801-). Nothing further has been learned of her except that she married a Mr. Hammond.

(4) John Pleasants McCormick (1799-1862), of Baltimore. He died March 26, 1862, aged sixty-two. He married, March 22, 1830, Ann Elizabeth Cottman, of Somerset County, Maryland, the sister of his brother's wife.

DATE: 1804 or 1805, from the apparent ages of the children.

SIZE: Canvas 50″ × 70″

DESCRIPTION: The parents, shown three-quarters length, are seated at either end of a mahogany Sheraton sofa with the three children between them in various postures, arranged according to age. The flesh tints of all are pale. They nearly face the spectator. The mother's eyes are brown and she has dark brown hair. She wears a white cap and is dressed in a high-waisted white muslin dress.

The youngest child, William Lux, standing on the sofa next to his mother, has blue eyes and light brown hair, and wears a high-waisted white dress his right hand is on his mother's shoulder. The daughter, Sophia Pleasants, seated in the centre, has blue eyes and brown hair. She also wears a high-waisted white dress with brilliant red slippers peeping out below. She holds in her lap a brown wicker basket filled with strawberries and strawberry leaves.

The elder son, John Pleasants, has blue eyes and dark brown hair, and wears a black coat and white collar with ruffled edging. His left hand rests on his father's shoulder and his right hand grasps a paper held by his father.

The father, who faces three-quarters to the left, has dark blue eyes and dark brown hair and sideburns. He wears a black coat, and white stock and cravat, vest, trousers, and stockings. His right arm rests on the upper edge of the sofa, the right hand holding a letter. There is a paper in his left hand. The mahogany sofa is covered with some dark material fastened along its sides and top with brass-headed tacks. All the figures show the characteristic stiffness of this painter and his rather expressionless hands. Compare the pose of the mother and baby with Nos. I, X, XX. It is framed in its original black wood frame about three inches wide.

OWNERSHIP: This painting belongs to the Maryland Historical Society. It was presented on February 22, 1922, by Dr. Thomas C. McCormick, the grandson of James McCormick and his wife, Rachel Ridgely Lux.

ATTRIBUTION: The late owner, Dr. Thomas C. McCormick, made no statement as to the painter. The writer feels certain that the painting is by Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 2984. Walpole *Note Book*, No. IV. The magazine *Life*, Dec. 9, 1940. Alain Locke, *The Negro in Art* (1940), p. 14.

X

MRS. HUGH McCURDY
(1775–1822)
and daughters

SUBJECTS: (Numbered from left to right)

(1) Mrs. Hugh McCurdy (Grace Allison) (1775-1822), of Baltimore, Maryland. She was born January 11, 1775, probably in Phila-

No. X. Mrs. Hugh McCurdy
(1775-1822)
and daughters

Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library

No. XI. Letitia Grace McCurdy
(*Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass*)
(1797-1875)

Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library

delphia, and died in Baltimore, July 22, 1822. She was the daughter of Captain William Allison (d. ante 1788) of Philadelphia, and his wife, Grace (Chambers) Caldwell (c. 1736-1791). She married first, June 17, 1794, Hugh McCurdy (c. 1765-1805), a prosperous Baltimore merchant by whom she had at least two children. After his death in 1805, she married, May 8, 1811, Edward N. Clopper (Nov. 8, 1773-). She also left issue by her second husband.

(2) Mary Jane McCurdy (c. 1802-1866), of Baltimore. She was born in 1801 or 1802, and died in Baltimore in her sixty-fifth year, on April 8, 1866. She did not marry.

(3) Letitia Grace McCurdy (Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass) (1797-1875), of Baltimore. She was born September 25, 1797, and died August 25, 1875. She married, June 27, 1828, Richard Henry Douglass (1780-1829), a Baltimore merchant. A possible error in the identity of this subject is discussed under No. XI.

DATE: c. 1804, from the ages of the children.

SIZE: Canvas 41″ × 34¼″

DESCRIPTION: The mother, three-quarters length, is seated on a Sheraton sofa, the younger daughter stands on the sofa beside her, and the older daughter on the floor to the right. All are dressed in white and are looking directly at the spectator. The mother's eyes are light hazel; her flesh tints are rather pale. Her dark brown hair is bound with a white embroidered bandeau. She is dressed in a high-waisted white muslin dress trimmed around neck and sleeves with white lace. She holds in her left hand a bunch of strawberry leaves and berries. The younger child, of perhaps eighteen months, has light brown eyes and hair, and the flesh tints are pale. She wears a high-waisted white muslin dress with lace trimmed sleeves, and white stockings. A bit of brilliant red left slipper can just be seen. She wears a necklace of gold beads. The older child to the right has very dark brown eyes and dark brown hair; her flesh tints are rather pale. She also wears a high-waisted white muslin dress trimmed with lace, and about her neck a dark ribbon holding a gold ornament. In her left hand she holds a brown wicker basket filled with strawberry leaves and berries. In her right hand she holds, upside down, a black parasol.

The positions of the mother and younger child are almost identical with that seen in Nos. I, IX, XX. The hands are rather expressionless. The sofa is covered with a dark fabric fastened along its upper border with brass-headed tacks. The background is a dark grey becoming lighter below.

OWNERSHIP: This portrait and No. XI were inherited by Mrs. J. Earl Moore of Baltimore, the owner, from her mother, who was the daughter of Letitia Grace McCurdy (Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass) (Nos. X and XI), and the granddaughter of Mrs. Hugh McCurdy.

ATTRIBUTION: Family tradition states that this painting and the companion painting of Letitia Grace McCurdy (No. XI) were both painted by a West Indian artist, whose race is not stated. The writer definitely attributes these two paintings to Joshua Johnston. It seems possible that he may have been a West Indian Negro who learned to paint from one of the Peale-Polk group.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19751. Walpole *Note Book*, No. V.

XI

LETITIA GRACE McCURDY

(Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass)

(1797–1875)

SUBJECT: Letitia Grace McCurdy (Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass) (1797-1875), of Baltimore. She was born in Baltimore, September 25, 1797, and died August 25, 1875. She was the daughter of Hugh McCurdy (c. 1765-1805), a Baltimore merchant, and his wife, Grace Allison (1775-1822). She married, June 27, 1828, Richard Henry Douglass (1780-1829), a merchant of Baltimore. The owner identifies this as her grandmother, Letitia Grace McCurdy, as she does the elder girl of No. X.

DATE: c. 1804, as determined by the age of the subject.

SIZE: Canvas 41″ × 34½″

DESCRIPTION: A standing full-length figure of a girl of about six years, nearly fronting the spectator. Eyes dark brown; hair brown; flesh tints rather pale. She wears a high-waisted white muslin dress trimmed about the neck with lace, white stockings, and bright red slippers. A gold ornament hangs about her neck on a black band. In her left hand she holds a cake towards a curious looking dog with bushy tail seated on his hind legs, the same type of dog introduced as an accessory in other paintings by Johnston. The background is dark grey with a red curtain at the upper left. Through an open casement at the right is to be seen a landscape with trees, hills, and a fence.

OWNERSHIP: This painting and No. X were inherited by Mrs. J. Earle Moore of Baltimore, the owner, from her mother, who was the daughter of Letitia Grace McCurdy (Mrs. Richard Henry Douglass) and the granddaughter of Mrs. Hugh McCurdy.

ATTRIBUTION: Family tradition states that this portrait and the companion painting of Mrs. McCurdy and daughter (No. X) were both painted by a West Indian artist whose race is not stated. The writer definitely attributes these two paintings to Joshua Johnston. It seems

No. XII. Mrs. John Moale (Ellin North)
(1741-1825)
and granddaughter, Ellin North Moale
(1794-1803)

possible that he may have been a West Indian Negro who learned to point from one of the Peale-Polk group.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19752. Walpole *Note Book*, No. VI.

XII

MRS. JOHN MOALE

(1741–1825)

and granddaughter Ellin North Moale

(1794–1803)

SUBJECTS: (1) Mrs. John Moale (Ellin North) (1741-1825) of Baltimore. She was born in Baltimore April 29, 1741, and died there March 23, 1825. She was the daughter of Robert North, an Englishman from Whittington, Lancashire, who came to Maryland about 1724, and was one of the commissioners who laid out Baltimore Town in 1729. She married, May 25, 1758, Colonel John Moale, a wealthy planter and merchant who was colonel of the Baltimore Town militia during the Revolution, presiding justice of the County Court, and the holder of various other public positions. The Moale's town house occupied the block bounded by Redwood (German), Hanover, Lombard, and Sharp streets; and on, or adjoining, this block, Joshua Johnston had his painting room in 1796 on "German Street between Hanover and Howard streets." The Moale country estate was "Green Spring," some ten miles north of Baltimore in the heart of the valley of that name. Mrs. Moale was a woman of strong character and personality. Portraits of her by six different painters are in existence.

(2) Ellin North Moale (1794-1803), the granddaughter of Mrs. John Moale (1), was born February 7, 1794, and died in 1803. She was the daughter of Thomas Moale (1766-1822) of "Green Spring," and his wife, Eleanor Owings (1772-1853).

DATE: c. 1800

SIZE: Canvas $40\frac{1}{2}'' \times 35\frac{3}{8}''$

DESCRIPTION: Mrs. Moale, a woman of perhaps sixty years of age, is shown seated three-quarters length, nearly full front. She has brown eyes, greying hair, and a rosy complexion. She wears a white cap of lace and ribbons tied under the chin. Her dress is of mustard colored satin with a white muslin fichu and white lace cuffs. A black net shawl over the shoulders extends down the front of her dress. In her right hand she holds a book in a bright red binding. On the table to the left, covered in light grey, rests a pair of white rimmed spectacles. The chair on which she sits is covered with a dark material fastened with brass-headed tacks. Ellin North Moale, a child of five or six, stands,

three-quarters length, at her grandmother's right. She has red hair, dark brown eyes, and rosy complexion. She wears a high-waisted white dress, and holds in her hand a bunch of red flowers which she is tying together with a red string held in the other hand. There is a claret colored curtain at the upper right. The remainder of the background is dark. The fuzzy appearance of this painting seems to be due to old restoration repainting.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mr. Roswell P. Russell of Baltimore. The painting passed by descent from the subject, Mrs. John Moale; to her son, Thomas Moale; to his daughter, Mrs. William Lynch Owings (Sophia North Moale); to her daughter, Alice Owings; to her niece, Mrs. Lewis P. Heiston (Alice Owings); to her cousin, Mr. Roswell P. Russell.

ATTRIBUTION: Family tradition attributes this painting to a slave named *William* Johnson owned in the family of Colonel John Moale. The writer definitely attributes the painting to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 3671. Walpole *Note Book*, No. VII. *Bulletin Municipal Art Museum* (Baltimore), Dec. 15, 1941.

XIII

MAN OF THE SHURE FAMILY

SUBJECT: The subject cannot be definitely identified. At an auction at the old Shure home at Darlington, Harford County, Md., about 1935, this and another (No. XIV) family portrait were sold. This family, which came from Pennsylvania to Maryland about the close of the eighteenth century, was identified with Darlington and with Shure's Landing on the Susquehanna River which is now under the waters of the Conowingo Dam, and with Baltimore. No living representative of this family can identify with certainty the subjects of these two paintings, viz.—a man holding a chart, probably a Chesapeake Bay captain, and a young girl. They are not companion paintings in size so may not be husband and wife—perhaps they are father and daughter.

DATE: c. 1810

SIZE: Canvas 28″ × 24″

DESCRIPTION: Half-length seated figure of middle-aged man, turned one-quarter to left. He has blue eyes and brown hair. He wears a white stock and white waistcoat; coat blue black with brass buttons. He holds in his left hand what appears to be a chart. He is seated on a chair covered with dark red material. An open casement with a distant water view and ships, and hills, is seen to the upper left.

No. XIII. Man of the Shure Family

No. XIV. Woman of the Shure Family

OWNERSHIP: The owner, Mr. John Schwarz of Baltimore, acquired this portrait and No. XIV at the Shure auction sale noted above.

ATTRIBUTION: The writer feels certain that this and No. XIV are both by Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Owner's photograph.

XIV

WOMAN OF THE SHURE FAMILY

SUBJECT: The subject cannot be definitely identified. At an auction at the old Shure home at Darlington, Harford County, Md., about 1935, this and another (No. XIII) family portrait were sold. See No. XIII for discussion as to the identity of both subjects.

DATE: c. 1810

SIZE: Canvas 25½″ × 17¾″

DESCRIPTION: She has blue eyes, very dark hair, and fair complexion. She wears a black dress trimmed about the neck and cuffs with white lace; and a white cap. She wears a gold necklace with a topaz fastening and gold and diamond earrings. She holds in her left hand red flowers with green leaves. There is a diamond pin on her dress to left. She is seated on a mahogany sofa with brass-studded tacks and holds a partly open book in her right hand. The background is dark olive green.

OWNERSHIP: This portrait is owned by Mrs. Lawrason Riggs of J., Brooklandville, Md., who acquired it from Mr. John Schwarz. It came from the home of the Shure family at Darlington, Md. See note under XIII for a discussion as to the subject's identity.

ATTRIBUTION: There is no tradition as to the painter of this and the other Shure portrait. The writer is certain this and the other Shure portrait (No. XIII) were painted by Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Schaefer photograph.

XV

BENNETT SOLLERS

(c. 1780–)

SUBJECT: Bennett Sollers, a Maryland planter who lived near Prince Frederick, Calvert County. He was born about 1780. The date of his death has not been learned. He was the son of James Sollers, also a Calvert County planter, and his second wife, a Miss Elt. He married before 1813 a Miss Rhodes. As far as can be learned the subject never lived in Baltimore.

DATE: c. 1810?

SIZE: Canvas 28″ × 24″

DESCRIPTION: The subject, a man of perhaps twenty-five, is shown three-quarters length, seated on an Empire mahogany chair covered with a red material attached to the chair frame with brass-headed tacks. He faces the spectator one-quarter front to the right. His eyes are grey and his hair and sideburns a light reddish brown. He wears a light coat with brass buttons, a single-breasted yellow waistcoat, and white stock. In his left hand he holds on his lap a writing board, and in his right hand a gold pencil. A large book rests on a table to the right. The background is dark.

OWNERSHIP: Present owner is Mrs. Paul Iglehart of Baltimore. The painting passed from the subject to his son, Augustus R. Sollers, a member of Congress; from him to his daughter, Mrs. Joseph A. Wilson (née Sollers) ; and finally to her daughter, Mrs. Paul Iglehart.

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that she knows of no tradition in her immediate family as to who the painter was. The writer feels certain that the painting is by Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19733. Walpole *Note Book*, No. VIII.

XVI

CAPTAIN THOMAS SPRIGG

(c. 1765–1810)

SUBJECT: Thomas Sprigg was a sea captain of Prince George's County, Maryland, who later settled in Washington County, Western Maryland. He was born about 1765, and died July 10, 1810. He was the son of Joseph Sprigg (1736-1800), who held various public offices in Prince George's and Frederick counties. It seems probable that the Captain Thomas Sprigg, who married in Baltimore, April 26, 1803, Harriet Minsky, was this subject.

DATE: c. 1805-1810

SIZE: Canvas 36″ × 30″.

DESCRIPTION: The subject, a man of perhaps twenty-five or thirty years of age, is shown seated. He faces the spectator turned one-quarter to the right. He has dark grey eyes and his brown hair is tied behind with a ribbon. He wears a black coat, white waistcoat, white stock, and grey breeches. He holds a sextant in his right hand and his left arm rests on a wood table upon which lies a partially open rolled map or chart and a measuring compass. At the upper right there is to be seen through an open casement a view of trees and a harbor with ships. The background is dark grey.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mrs. Brodnax Cameron of Baltimore, who is a great-great-niece of the subject. It passed by direct descent to a granddaughter of the subject from whom Mrs. Cameron purchased it.

No. XVII. John Spear Smith
(1786-1866)

No. XVIII. Mary Buchanan Smith
(*Mrs. John Edward Mansfield*)
(1788-1868)

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that according to family tradition this portrait was painted by Charles Willson Peale. The writer definitely attributes this painting to Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19813. Walpole *Note Book*, No. IX.

XVII

JOHN SPEAR SMITH

(1786–1866)

SUBJECT: John Spear Smith of Baltimore was born there November 27, 1786, and died November 11, 1866. He was the son of General Samuel Smith (1752-1839) of "Montebello," near Baltimore, a prominent merchant, who was Secretary of the Navy under Jefferson, Representative and United States Senator from Maryland, Mayor of Baltimore, and commander of the American forces when Baltimore was attacked by the British on September 12-13, 1814. The subject was a lawyer and attaché of the United States Legation in London, 1809-1810. He served as aide to his father who commanded the troops in the defense of Baltimore against the British, September 12-13, 1814. He was for many years President of the Maryland Historical Society. He married Caryanne Nicholas, the daughter of Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas of Virginia.

DATE: c. 1797, from the apparent age of the subject. It was doubtless painted at the same time as the companion portrait of his sister (No. XVIII).

SIZE: Canvas 29½″ × 24″

DESCRIPTION: This is a three-quarters standing figure of a boy of about ten years of age, facing slightly to the left. He has dark hair and dark eyes and a rather pale complexion. He wears a dark blue coat with white muslin collar with ruffled edge, white ruffled cuffs, and a gold watch fob at the waist. He holds gloves in his left hand, and a riding crop in his right. The background is very dark.

OWNERSHIP: The painting belongs to the heirs of Miss Sally Randolph Carter, who died in 1939. The painting passed from the subject's parents to the subject, John Spear Smith; from him to his daughter, Mrs. Robert Carter (Margaret Smith); from her to her daughters, Nancy Coles Carter and Sally Randolph Carter of "Redlands," Albemarle County, Virginia; the latter survived her sister and it now belongs to her estate.

ATTRIBUTION: The late owner, Miss Sally Randolph Carter, told the writer that this portrait and the companion painting (No. XVIII) of the subject's sister, were both painted by a Negro slave who belonged to General Samuel Smith of Baltimore, the father of the subject, and the great-grandfather of Miss Carter. The writer feels certain that this

painting is by Joshua Johnston, although what seems to be restoration retouching gives it a rather fuzzy appearance for his work.

REPRODUCTION: Ritchie Studio, Charlottesville, Virginia, photograph. Walpole *Note Book*, No. X.

XVIII

MARY BUCHANAN SMITH

(Mrs. John Edward Mansfield)

(1788–1868)

SUBJECT: Mary Buchanan Smith (Mrs. John Edward Mansfield) of Baltimore and England, was born November 22, 1788, in Baltimore, and died in November 1868 in England. She was the daughter of General Samuel Smith (1752-1839) of "Montebello," Baltimore, a prominent merchant of Baltimore, who was Secretary of the Navy under Jefferson, Representative and Senator from Maryland, Mayor of Baltimore, and commander of the American forces when Baltimore was attacked by the British in September 12-13, 1814. She married, November 25, 1809, John Edward Mansfield of Diggerswell House, Hertfordshire, England. One of her sons, William Rose Mansfield, commander in chief of the British forces in India, was created Baron Sandhurst in 1871.

DATE: c. 1797, from the age of the subject.

SIZE: Canvas 29½" × 24½"

DESCRIPTION: This is a three-quarters length seated portrait of a young girl of about eight years of age. Her right shoulder is turned towards the spectator with her face slightly to the left. Her eyes and hair are dark. She wears a high-waisted white muslin dress, trimmed with lace ruffles at the neck and sleeves, and with a ribbon around her waist. She holds in her lap with both hands a small white dog with bushy tail, an accessory characteristic of several of this painter's portraits. She is seated in a chair covered with dark material. The general background is dark. At the upper left is a red curtain. At the right through an open casement is a view of trees and fields. This is a companion portrait of the painting of her brother, John Spear Smith (No. XVII).

OWNERSHIP: The painting belongs to the heirs of Miss Sally Randolph Carter who died in 1939. It passed from the subject's parents to her brother, John Spear Smith, the subject of the companion portrait; from him to his daughter, Mrs. Robert Carter (Margaret Smith); from her to her daughters, Nancy Coles Carter and Sally Randolph Carter of "Redlands," Albemarle County, Virginia; the latter survived her sister and it now belongs to her estate.

ATTRIBUTION: The late owner, Miss Sally Randolph Carter, told the writer that this portrait and the companion painting (No. XVII) of the

subject's brother, were both painted by a Negro slave who belonged to General Samuel Smith of Baltimore, the father of the subject and the great-grandfather of Miss Carter. The writer feels certain that this painting is by Joshua Johnston, although what seems to be restoration retouching gives it a rather fuzzy appearance for his work.

REPRODUCTION: Ritchie Studio, Charlottesville, Virginia, photograph. Walpole *Note Book*, No. XI.

XIX

ISABEL TAYLOR

(c. 1785–)

SUBJECT: Isabel Taylor of Ireland and Baltimore, and probably later of Atlas, Illinois. She was a niece of Henry Long (1774-1850) (No. VII), who came from Belfast, Ireland, and was a successful merchant in Baltimore. She was sent for by her uncle when a young girl, educated in Baltimore, and later helped to bring up his two elder sons after the death of their mother in 1812. She was an "uncompromising Presbyterian." It is not believed that she married. Nothing further has been learned about her, except that her lover died at sea.

DATE: c. 1805

SIZE: Canvas size unknown.

DESCRIPTION: The writer has only seen a poor photograph of her portrait. The subject is a girl, perhaps twenty years old, shown one-half length, seated on a chair, and facing one-quarter to the left. Her hair, piled high on her head, shows a long curl over the front of her left shoulder. She wears a dark short-sleeved, low-necked, high-waisted dress with a chain and locket about her neck. She holds a letter in her right hand, said to be from a lover lost at sea.

OWNERSHIP: The owner, Mrs. William Binns, of Pittsfield, Ill., is a descendant of Henry Long, in whose household his niece, Isabel Taylor, lived.

ATTRIBUTION: There is no tradition in the owner's family as to who was the painter of this portrait. It is one of the group of four Long family portraits. The writer feels that in the style of painting, pose, and treatment of the features, the painting is typical of Joshua Johnston.

REPRODUCTION: Snapshot of the painting which is in poor condition.

XX

MRS. ABRAHAM WHITE, JR.

(1778–1809)

and daughter

SUBJECT: (1) Mrs. Abraham White, Jr. (Martha Bussey) was born January 16, 1778, and died October 2, 1809. She lived in Baltimore. She was the daughter of Captain Bennett Bussey of Harford County, Maryland. She married, June 2, 1797, Abraham White, Jr., a Baltimore merchant.

(2) Rose Elizabeth White, the daughter of the above, was born July 9, 1807, and died March 4, 1875. She married, February 2, 1837, Abner Neale, and was the grandmother of the owner.

DATE: c. 1809, as indicated by the child's age.

SIZE: Canvas 30″ × 25″

DESCRIPTION: The mother, a woman of about thirty, is seated on a Sheraton sofa, and standing at her left side is a child of about two years of age. The mother has blue-gray eyes and light hair. She wears a high-waisted black dress with white muslin and lace guimpe, and with sleeves trimmed with white lace. In her right hand she holds a half-opened book, and her left arm encircles the child. The child is turned slightly to the left towards her mother. She wears a high-waisted muslin dress trimmed about the neck with lace. Her right hand rests on her mother's shoulder and in her left hand she holds a bunch of strawberry leaves and berries. The sofa is covered with some dark material attached to the frame with brass-headed tacks. The background is grey.

OWNERSHIP: The owner, Judge Francis Neal Parke of Westminster, Maryland, is a great-grandson of the older subject and a grandson of the child of this painting, which he has inherited by direct descent.

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that he was always told by his family that this painting was by Rembrandt Peale and has never heard of any other attribution. While it bears some resemblance to the very early portraits by Peale, at the date of painting, c. 1809, Peale had become sophisticated and was doing his best work; the writer feels certain that this portrait is by Joshua Johnston. While he hesitates to question the tradition in Judge Parke's family, if Johnston had once belonged to some member of the Peale-Polk group, the tradition would be explainable.

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 19656. Walpole *Note Book*, No. XII.

XXI

CHARLES HERMAN WILMANS

(1797–1833)

SUBJECT: Charles Herman Wilmans of Baltimore. He was born September 2, 1797, and died in a steamship accident on the Ohio, January 18, 1833. He was the son of Carl Heinrich Wilmans and his wife, Elizabeth Bedford Bankson, who later, as Mrs. James Beatty, was painted by Johnston (No. III). He married, in Kentucky, July 10, 1825, Anne Maynard Fontaine. The subject's mother (No. III), her brother, Andrew Bedford Bankson (?) (No. II), and the latter's wife and daughter (?) (No. I), were also all painted by Joshua Johnston.

DATE: c. 1804 from the apparent age of the subject.

SIZE: Canvas 40″ × 33″

DESCRIPTION: A stiff, full length standing figure of a boy of about six years with body and head three-quarters to the right. He has yellow hair, blue-grey eyes, and rather pale complexion. He wears a dark brown suit with white muslin collar, white stockings, and light red slippers with white buckles. He holds white gloves in his right hand and his left arm rests on the muzzle of an upright gun. A white dog with large bushy tail, of the type often used by this painter as an accessory, is seated on hind legs to the left. To the upper right is a dark green curtain with white fringe and white tassel. To the right is an open casement, and seen through it is a vine-covered ruined archway with a view of a distant landscape and large house. The background is dark greenish brown. The floor is tessellated.

OWNERSHIP: The owner is Mrs. Susan T. Horner, of Baltimore, to whom the portrait passed by direct descent. The subject is the maternal grandfather of the owner.

ATTRIBUTION: The owner says that this portrait was painted by a Negro blacksmith, a slave of General John Stricker. Mrs. Stricker was the aunt of the subject's mother (No. III), and of Andrew Bedford Bankson (?) (No. II) and his wife (?) (No. I).

REPRODUCTION: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 4448. Walpole *Note Book*, No. XIII.

WOODROW WILSON ADDRESSES THE CITIZENS OF BALTIMORE, 1896

By Henry Wilkinson Bragdon

When did Woodrow Wilson's political career begin? Did it begin when as a boy he formed the ambition to be a statesman like Mr. Gladstone and sway men to great purposes by the power of eloquence, or when during his brief career as a lawyer in Atlanta he argued for free trade before a Congressional Tariff Commission, or not until he agreed to accept nomination for the governorship of New Jersey? In one sense his active political career started in Baltimore in March, 1896, for it was then that he first took part in an actual political battle and addressed his first purely partisan audience, a mass meeting to support Mayor Hooper held at the "Music Hall" (now the Lyric Theatre). By a curious chance a fellow speaker on this occasion was Theodore Roosevelt, then a Police Commissioner of New York City.

Wilson's appearance on the same platform with his future rival for the presidency was apparently the result of a successful course of public lectures on municipal government at Johns Hopkins University. Some of these lectures were published in the *Baltimore News*, and are interesting because they reveal, in part, the political and social philosophy then held by Wilson.

In 1896 there was violent political agitation in Baltimore. The previous November, in an election during which several Negroes were killed and a Johns Hopkins professor suffered a broken jaw, the Democratic machine had been driven out of office after thirty years in power. This result had been achieved by a coalition of the "regular" Republicans, a "Reform League" composed of independent voters of both parties, and the American Federation of Labor—a combination not unlike that which put La Guardia in office in New York City in 1933. Alcaeus Hooper, a "business man in politics," had been elected Mayor, seemingly with a mandate to proceed with multifarious and imperative reforms.

It was not long, however, before Mayor Hooper was at loggerheads with the City Council. The tidal wave of November had swept into the Council a majority of machine Republicans who,

after their long famine, were hungry for the spoils of office. When the Mayor not only refused to make a clean sweep of Democrats in municipal positions, but proposed to fill certain vacancies with Reform League Republicans and even other Democrats, the councilmen revolted. Early in February they threw down the gage of battle by refusing to ratify Mayor Hooper's appointments.

This open breach caused bitterness and dismay among the better elements of both parties. The revelations of graft and incompetence in the city departments had been shocking. It had been shown, for instance, that the police department had connived in election frauds and intimidation of Negro voters, and had " protected " brothels, gambling houses, and what would now be called " the numbers racket." Now, however, the action of the City Council blocked all chance of better administration of this and other departments.[1]

It was at this juncture that Professor Woodrow Wilson returned to Johns Hopkins for the ninth successive year to give a course of twenty-five lectures on Administration to graduate students in the department of History, Politics, and Economics. Professor Herbert B. Adams considered Wilson one of the outstanding graduates of his famous department and used to hold him up as a shining example to his later students.[2] In 1887 only two years after Wilson left Johns Hopkins, he was asked to return to give this course in Administration, a topic in which he had become interested while under the influence of Professor Adams and of his colleague, Professor Richard T. Ely.[3]

The course was an immediate success and Wilson gave it annually in the second semester from 1888 until 1897. Former students [4] remember that Wilson impressed them with his mastery of material, ability to shed new light on familiar problems, clarity of presentation, and command of language. During the first lecture series Charles M. Andrews, then a graduate student, wrote his mother:

[1] *Baltimore, Its History and Its People*, ed. by C. C. Hall (New York, 1912), I; W. F. Coyle, *The Mayors of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1919); "Baltimore's Oldest Living Mayor," unsigned article in *The Sun*, October 18, 1936; files of *The Sun* and *Baltimore News* for February and early March, 1896.

[2] Lyman P. Powell to author, March 26, 1940.

[3] Richard T. Ely, *Ground Under Our Feet* (New York, 1938), p. 114.

[4] Interviews with Charles M. Andrews, John H. Finley, Lyman P. Powell, William A. Wetzel; letter from Edward A. Ross.

> One of our best courses this winter has been that of Dr. Woodrow Wilson in Administration. It is a live subject taught by a live man. I am trying to take full notes for they are very valuable. When completed I shall have them bound, as I did those on Roman Law, for they are worth it.[5]

Nearly all graduate students in history, politics, and economics enrolled in Wilson's course, which changed in content from year to year. Men who sat under him were later to be found on the faculties of probably every university of importance in the country.

In 1896 Wilson was to reach a less specialized audience because such was the interest in his particular topic of that year, "Municipal Organization," that he attracted many of the general public. Full and scholarly condensations of a number of his lectures were prepared for the *Baltimore News* by G. B. Lynes, a member of the Historical Department.[6] The *News* was then the most zealous journalistic supporter of Mayor Hooper and the Reform League. The publication of the lectures was probably due to Fabian Franklin, managing editor of the *News* and formerly a member of the Johns Hopkins faculty; it may, however, have been arranged by the owner of the paper, Charles H. Grasty, like Wilson a Presbyterian and a Virginian.[7]

There is nothing quite like these reports of Wilson's lectures in *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, the only available collection of his early writings and addresses; or in the Woodrow Wilson Collection in the Princeton University Library, the most complete collection in existence. Save for the chapters on local government in *The State*, purely a text-book, very little of his published work before he became Governor of New Jersey deals with municipal politics. The reports in the *Baltimore News*, therefore, are of peculiar interest, because they contain a specific program of municipal reform.

The *News* presented Wilson to its readers as "one of the most eminent lecturers on municipal government in the country,"[8] "a recognised authority on municipal subjects,"[9] in whose "exceedingly practical and up-to-date" course the public had taken

[5] May 7, 1888.
[6] *Twenty-first Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 56.
[7] Charles M. Harwood to author, September 17, 1941.
[8] *Baltimore News*, Feb. 26, 1896.
[9] *Ibid.*, Mar. 3.

great interest.[10] The paper had high praise for his ability as a speaker:

> Professor Wilson unites to a thorough command of his subject a remarkable command of language—he never reads a lecture—and the interest of the audience does not flag for a moment.[11]

Wilson, originally with an imaginary House of Commons or a reformed Congress in mind, had, of course, trained himself in extemporaneous speech since he was a Princeton undergraduate. In formal lecture courses, such as those at Johns Hopkins, Wilson seems generally to have written down specific references and an outline of what he was to say on small cards which, however, he frequently did not consult. That he was able to interest the general audience which attended his lectures in 1896 is not surprising, for, according to Charles D. Atkins, formerly executive secretary of the University extension in Philadelphia, he had already become "one of the immortals of the American lecture platform," [12] so much in demand that he received from the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching $50.00 per lecture instead of the usual $20.00.[13] President Patton of Princeton once complained to John Bassett Moore that Wilson had become so popular as a "lyceum lecturer" that he stayed in Princeton only to deliver his course lectures.[14]

Whether Wilson could accurately be described as "a recognized authority on municipal subjects" may be open to question; Wilson himself, when he appeared before the Music Hall mass meeting, disclaimed any such epithet. On the other hand it is worthy of note that in his second year as a lecturer at Johns Hopkins his particular topic (under the broad heading Administration) had been municipal government.[15] When during the same year the Brown University Historical and Economic Society organized a series of lectures on municipal affairs, Wilson gavè two of them, on January 10 and 17, 1889. According to the *Providence Journal* these lectures were enthusiastically received and were attended by "public officials" including "members and

[10] *Ibid.*, Feb. 28.
[11] *Ibid.*, Feb. 28.
[12] Letter to author, April 11, 1941.
[13] Lyman P. Powell, also a former executive secretary of the University Extension, to author, March 26, 1940.
[14] Letter from J. B. Moore to author, July 8, 1941.
[15] *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, VII (1888), 103.

ex-members of the City Council." [16] Further evidence of his success at Brown is the fact that he was engaged to return to Providence during the next academic year to inaugurate a series of lectures on "The State and Social Reform" on November 11, 1889. In this series he was followed by such notables as General F. A. Walker, Edward Atkinson, and Edward Everett Hale. While Wilson certainly could not be ranked with his friend Albert Shaw or his former teacher Richard T. Ely as an authority on municipal government, in so describing him the *News* was exuberant rather than mendacious.

In studying in detail the lectures reported in the *News* one is immediately struck, as in many of Wilson's writings, by his almost doctrinaire admiration of British political practices. In the first lecture to be reported, that of February 6, "The lecturer explained the difference between local government in England and America and the advantages of the former over the latter." These advantages included: central supervision of local government without destruction of local initiative; the union of legislative and administrative functions, making for responsible government; and constant but conservative change in Britain in response to changing needs, as contrasted with American inability to observe their political machinery realistically because of blind adherence to certain shibboleths. In regard to the latter point Wilson characteristically remarked that the Federal Constitution was no sooner framed than it began to be worshipped and as a result it had not been improved. "The lecturer said he knew whereof he affirmed because he had criticized it and had been called unpatriotic and un-American in consequence." [17]

Praise of British institutions and advocacy of the two principles of government they exemplified, concentration of authority and fixation of responsibility, appear again and again. On February 24, for instance, Wilson attacked division of powers and multiple elections in city government as "ridiculous":

> . . . the London citizen votes only for the member of the council. He does not delude himself by saying that if ward politicians are elected to the council, he will elect "a mayor with a backbone" to checkmate them; for the mayor's power is not constructive but obstructive. He can stop things but he cannot push them forward. . . .

[16] Jan. 11, 1889.
[17] *Baltimore News*, February 7.

In short, what we have in this country is a mayor to nominate and control all administrative machinery; a finance board to spend the money; a council, checked within by the bicameral system and without by the mayor's veto, to " ordain " the administration about which it knows nothing, and to vote the moneys which it is not suffered to specifically apportion; and, finally, sometimes a State-made and State-controlled police force. This complexity is added to by many boards appointed in every conceivable manner.

The system of checks and balances is futile. The only check that is or can be effective is public opinion. . . . Checks and balances are desirable only for the politician who wants to get in a corner where he can shirk responsibility. The reason we have so many more politicians than statesmen to the square mile in this country is because public servants are so many removes away from direct responsibility to the people.[18]

Wilson reserved particular condemnation for bipartisan boards which he termed " an invention of the devil," leading merely to trading of patronage between parties and confusion of issues. Insistence on clean-cut distinction between parties was one of his most tenaciously held political principles, as apparent in the writings and addresses of his academic years as during his active political career where it finally found disastrous expression in his call for a Democratic Congress in 1918.[19]

As a remedy for the disintegration and irresponsibility in American city government Wilson rejected the practice of so increasing the powers of the mayor that he became an elective despot, if only because, as his political oracle Walter Bagehot pointed out in criticism of any despotism, there are only 24 hours in the day.[20]

Instead of centralization of power in one man Wilson offered a scheme not unlike the " Commission Plan " of government first put into effect in Galveston, Texas, in 1901. His proposals, the first three points of a seven-point program of municipal reform, were as follows:

1. That the administrative and ordinance-making power should be concentrated in one body, of which the mayor should be merely the chairman.

2. That there should be a minority of trained officials, chosen by competitive examination, on this governing board.

3. That the elective majority of the council should be chosen by a single act of election on a city-wide ticket.

[18] *Ibid.*, Feb. 26. [19] *Ibid.*, Feb. 28. [20] *Ibid.*, Feb. 26.

The previous lectures make it clear that the first and third points were inspired by British practice. The inclusion of permanent appointive officials in the municipal council was borrowed from Prussian procedure.

From Prussia, too, came the fifth point in this program—that there should be "an enforcement of compulsory citizenship duties" including administration of "poor relief, tax assessment, mercantile arbitration, etc., by a system of committees" with increase of taxes and loss of the franchise as penalties for non-performance. "In other words, self-government must not remain a privilege alone, but become a duty." [21]

With the possible exception of this advocacy of compulsory office-holding there is nothing so far which would strike anyone familiar with Wilson's political writings as unexpected; in fact, his criticism of the complexity of American municipal government could have been predicted. But it is surprising to discover the following headline of the first fully reported lecture:

PROF. WILSON ADVOCATES MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF GAS WORKS AND STREET RAILWAYS [22]

Now it has generally been held that until very shortly before he was elected Governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson was an "old-fashioned liberal." As Oswald Garrison Villard, who was closely associated with him during his governorship, puts it: "Up to the time he was a candidate for the governorship Wilson was what any fair-minded man would have called a conservative if not a reactionary." [23] He had attributed the panic of 1907 "to the aggressive attitude of legislation toward the railroads" and had stated that governmental control would "merely mean taking the power away from the people and putting it into the hands of political discontent." [24] He attacked Federal regulation of child labor as an absurdly extravagant extension of power.[25] He termed himself "a fierce partisan of the open shop." [26] Earlier than this—

[21] *Ibid.*, Mar. 3.
[22] *Ibid.*, Feb. 26.
[23] *Fighting Years, Memoirs of a Liberal Editor* (New York, 1939), p. 219.
[24] James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1926), p. 33.
[25] "L[illegible] or Personal Power," an address before the National Democratic Club, April 1 1908, published in *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. by R. S. Baker and W. E. Dodd (New York, 1925), II, 37.
[26] Kerney, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

at the time we are considering him—according to all evidence heretofore published, he was a "Grover Cleveland Democrat" who approved not merely of Cleveland's efforts to reduce the tariff but also of his suppression of the Pullman strike. He could not bring himself to vote for Bryan in 1896. Still earlier, while a student at Johns Hopkins, Wilson demurred at Professor Ely's sympathy for organized labor.[27] During the same period Wilson, in *Congressional Government*, revealed himself as so blandly unaware of economic realities as to maintain that although there is a large proportion of very wealthy men in the Senate, "their wealth represents no class interest,"—in fact because it is so variously invested, "it represents the majority of the nation."[28]

There is also a good deal of evidence to support the statement made by one of Wilson's students at Johns Hopkins and quoted by John Chamberlain in *Farewell to Reform* that Wilson believed in "government by *noblesse oblige*."[29] In 1899 Wilson told a meeting of the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, "I believe that one reason that self-government has gone some crooked courses in this country is because we have so few men of leisure. . . ."[30] In his *History of the American People*, forty years before *Oliver Wiswell*, Wilson mourned the passing of the Loyalists from the American scene:

> Not a little poise, not a little of the sentiment of law, not a little of the solidity of tradition and the steadiness of established ways of thought and action, not a little of the conservative strength of the young communities had gone out of the country with the Loyalists,—not a little of the training, the pride of reputation, the compulsion of class spirit, the loyalty and honor of a class accustomed to rule and to furnish rulers.[31]

But in treating of city government in the Baltimore lectures in 1896 Wilson sets forth ideas at variance with the usual conception of his early social philosophy. He points out and reiterates that there must be an extension of the sphere of city government and that the interest of the well-to-do is not the interest of the city as a whole. In these lectures he appears more like the Wilson who in 1912 preached "the New Freedom" than the Wilson who

[27] Ely, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
[28] *Congressional Government* (fourth ed., Boston, 1887), p. 225.
[29] *Farewell to Reform* (New York, 1932), p. 283.
[30] "Spurious Versus Real Patriotism in Education," October 13, 1899, reprinted in *The School Review*, VII (1899), 599-620.
[31] *History of the American People* (New York, 1902), III, 24.

in 1907 congratulated the traction magnate Adrian Joline on "knocking Bryan into a cocked hat." So interesting are these portions of Wilson's lectures that they will be presented in detail.

In his lecture of February 24 Wilson said:

> We cannot look to the selfish interest or leading classes alone to advance the interests of the city. . . . They will insist upon a good police system, perhaps, but they will not be inclined to insist upon thoroughness of sanitation in those parts of the city which they do not occupy, nor will they urge the city to provide in general that higher education which they can provide for themselves. The upper classes often, likewise, make their wealth tell corruptly on the way in which the city makes its expenditures, so as to secure more than their share of advantages from the outlay for paving, lighting, locomotion, preparing of districts for occupation, etc. The wealthy classes cannot, therefore, be relied upon to promote the delicate and difficult tasks which arise from the masses of men being economically dependent upon the city. Their interest, in short, is a special interest. The only wholesome power can come from a general interest.

And how shall the interest of the whole body of citizens be protected?

> I answer by giving the city more important, wide-reaching and conspicuous functions. People are always interested in what they feel immediately concerns them. If, therefore, the convenience of the citizen is touched constantly by the action of the city administration, he will be much more apt to take care that the city be pure. Hence, I believe in the municipal ownership of the gas system and the street railways, both because the way in which they are managed affects the whole community, and likewise because municipal ownership would lead citizens to take a greater interest in municipal affairs.

A modern industrial city, said Wilson, is not an economic corporation with the property holders as chief stockholders, but "a humane economic society." [32]

On February 27 Wilson in talking of the police duties of cities referred to private ownership of gas works as "a pernicious principle" because "water works and gas works are not something devised for the benefit of private companies, but for the whole city." [33]

On February 28 Wilson was asked whether he would advocate municipal ownership of Baltimore's utilities if the government were in the hands of the existing City Council. "Heaven forbid

[32] *Baltimore News*, Feb. 26.

[33] *Ibid.*, Feb. 29.

it!" he replied, and explained that he would advocate extension of municipal functions only after reform of the machinery of government. But in considering "the City Budget" he reiterated and made more explicit his previous contentions.

He attacked both in theory and practice the New York City Board of Finance, elected only by those paying $250 rent per year or possessing taxable property in excess of $500, because "the modern industrial city, with its wide social functions, must act in many things involving the heaviest expenditures, not for property owners, but for the working and economically dependent classes." He therefore did not believe "that the persons who pay the largest taxes are the best judges of the needs of a city," and he cited Princeton borough as an example:

> In Princeton . . . we have an illustration of the control of public improvements in accordance with the desire of the poorer classes. Streets in the poorer districts of the town were improved first. Now that is not what a body of wealthy property-owners would arrange to do. Yet—unpalatable as the truth may be—the management of affairs by these poorer classes—mostly Irish and negroes—has resulted in a better condition of things than if it had been left to the educated classes. These poorer districts threatened the health of the town, and the improvement of the streets effected improvement also in the condition of sanitation and drainage.

Wilson concluded this lecture by insisting again on the proposition he had previously laid down, that a city was "not an economic corporation, but a humane economic society." [34]

Finally, on March 2, as point four of the seven-point program of reform already mentioned, Wilson maintained:

> There should be a widening of city functions, but not without a better organization of city government. Then, and not till then, should the city undertake the ownership of the gas system and street railways. Under such conditions also rapid transit should be operated by the city, and so managed that lines should be provided to relieve congested parts of the city, whether those lines paid financially or not. Charity should likewise become a municipal function, although not to the exclusion of private charity. Yet public charity should be so thorough as to be independent of private charity, and should be made the imperative legal duty of the whole. The same arguments as are valid for the need of public sanitation are valid also for the need of public charity and the latter even more than the former. For public charity and public education are a sort of moral sanitation.[35]

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[34] *Ibid.*, Feb. 29.

[35] *Ibid.*, Mar. 3.

All this is not an isolated early statement on Wilson's part that there should be an extension of the sphere of government. He once told a colleague, Professor Winthrop M. Daniels, that his economic ideas had been influenced by John B. Clark's *The Philosophy of Wealth*.[36] This is confirmed by a remarkably warm and enthusiastic letter from Wilson to Clark, written in 1887. In this letter Wilson introduced himself to Clark and stated that the book had fertilised his thought in his special field of politics and had refreshed and cheered him. " A sane well-balanced sympathiser with organized labor," wrote Wilson, " is very dear to my esteem. . . . " He concluded by writing that he expected to read the book again and again and hoped he might be allowed to subscribe himself Clark's sincere friend. This was the beginning of a warm friendship between the two men.[37]

The Philosophy of Wealth had attacked orthodox *laissez-faire* economics with its basis on the presumed all-compulsive acquisitive instinct of the " economic man " as unrealistic and unchristian. Although ruling out immediate Socialism as an attractive but impracticable panacea, Clark advocated in large a gradual approach to a more cooperative and a more truly Christian society and in detail a recognition of labor unions as inevitable and right, the greater use of arbitration in disputes between management and labor, social legislation, an increase of cooperative societies, and an organized Christianity more interested in promoting social justice than in deriving rents and contributions from wealthy pew-holders.

Wilson's lecture on " The State and Social Reform " before the Brown Historical and Economic Society on November 11, 1889, clearly revealed Clark's influence. We must, Wilson then declared, devise a new political philosophy to fit an age when each man seems the rival of every other man, " planning how he can outstrip his fellow," when " men say that ' business is business ' which means that business is not Christianity." In these circumstances many have turned to Socialism, some of them simply because they have read a fanciful novel (obviously a reference to Bellamy's *Looking Backward*). Socialism if ever realized would be " the golden age of civilization " and every one who believes in

[36] Winthrop M. Daniels to author, March 30, 1940.

[37] *John Bates Clark, A Memorial* (privately printed, 1938), p. 20; conversation with Alden H. Clark, February 22, 1941.

the perfectibility of man must be "within careful bounds, a socialist," but it is not an immediate possibility. Nevertheless, government *must* be recognized as "a beneficent and indispensable organ of society" because "nowhere but in government is society recognized as an element." We must look to government to guarantee equality of opportunity; specifically, it should control hours and wages, sanitary conditions, the labor of women and children, and natural monopolies.[38]

It would appear, then, that Wilson's supposed "conversion" to progressivism when he became Governor of New Jersey was not a complete break with past beliefs, but was instead a development of a point of view forcibly stated long before. It may seem difficult to resolve the seeming discrepancies between the social and political philosophy expressed in Providence in 1889 and Baltimore in 1896 and the more conservative atittude revealed by many of his early speeches and writings. But Wilson's ideas cannot be made to fit any ready-made category; as he once told Professor Robert McN. McElroy he was a "Christian anarchist" who subscribed to no body of belief save that found in the New Testament.[39] He tried to judge contemporary problems on their merits according to what he once termed "the great English gospel of Expediency."[40]

There were two final planks in Wilson's platform of municipal reform for which the background was evidently supplied in lectures not published in the *News*:

> Sixth—There should be a separation of the judicial from the administrative functions of city government—except, perhaps, in the case of police courts for passing upon offences against city ordinances. Popular election of judges should some day be done away with, although it is likely that the day is still far distant when this can be accomplished. But everything comes to those who wait—and know what they are waiting for.
>
> Seventh—There should be a certain amount of wise central control in the interests of administrative integration. This will be the concluding subject of the course and I will take it up for discussion to-morrow.[41]

It is unfortunate that the *News* did not publish this final lecture of the course, because it would be interesting to know spe-

[38] This speech was reported fully but ineptly in both the *Boston Herald* and the *Providence Journal* of November 12, 1889. In the summary here printed both newspapers have been used.

[39] R. McN. McElroy to author, November 20, 1940.

[40] *Mere Literature and Other Essays* (Boston, 1896), p. 158.

[41] *Baltimore News*, Mar. 3.

cifically how Wilson proposed to reconcile "wise central control" and the autonomy necessary to vigorous local institutions. That this was a problem he considered of the utmost importance is revealed by his essay, "The Study of Administration," published in the *Political Science Quarterly* of June, 1887. He concludes this article by contending that if the United States can successfully 'interlace' local and Federal self-government, "we shall again pilot the world"; and he suggests that solution of this problem may in turn lead to a confederation of the great states of the world.[42]

Wilson's former students remember that without in any sense playing to the gallery he often seasoned his materials with wit, but naturally few of them can remember particular sallies. A few of them appear in the *News* and it may or may not be significant that two of them deal with Congress and Congressmen. In discussing the absurdity of separation of powers Wilson said on February 26:

> Did you ever notice the debates in Congress on the Letters of the Secretary of the Treasury? The Congressmen discuss what this passage may mean, and what the Secretary had in mind in that, as if they had discovered a medieval manuscript in some old monastery, of which the key had been lost. All this time the writer is at the other end of the avenue.[43]

On February 28, after remarking that Washington was a handsome city because it had not been administered by property-holders for their own benefit, Wilson went on:

> Hence we have a Capital which is a place for delectation—so attractive that Congressmen are anxious to go there and do nothing after they get there but enjoy it. . . . There is no overcrowding of houses in tenement districts, but, instead, magnificent open spaces corresponding to analogous open spaces in the minds of the national legislators.[44]

Wilson finished his lecture course on the afternoon of March 3 and in the evening of the same day came the climax of his stay in Baltimore, for then he and Theodore Roosevelt began their political relationship by addressing three or four thousand citizens of Baltimore on behalf of Mayor Hooper and the Reform League.

On that afternoon the *Baltimore News* made the coming meet-

[42] *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, I, 157-158. The essay was republished in the *Political Science Quarterly*, LVI (1941), 481-506.
[43] *Baltimore News*, Feb. 28.
[44] *Ibid.*, Feb. 29.

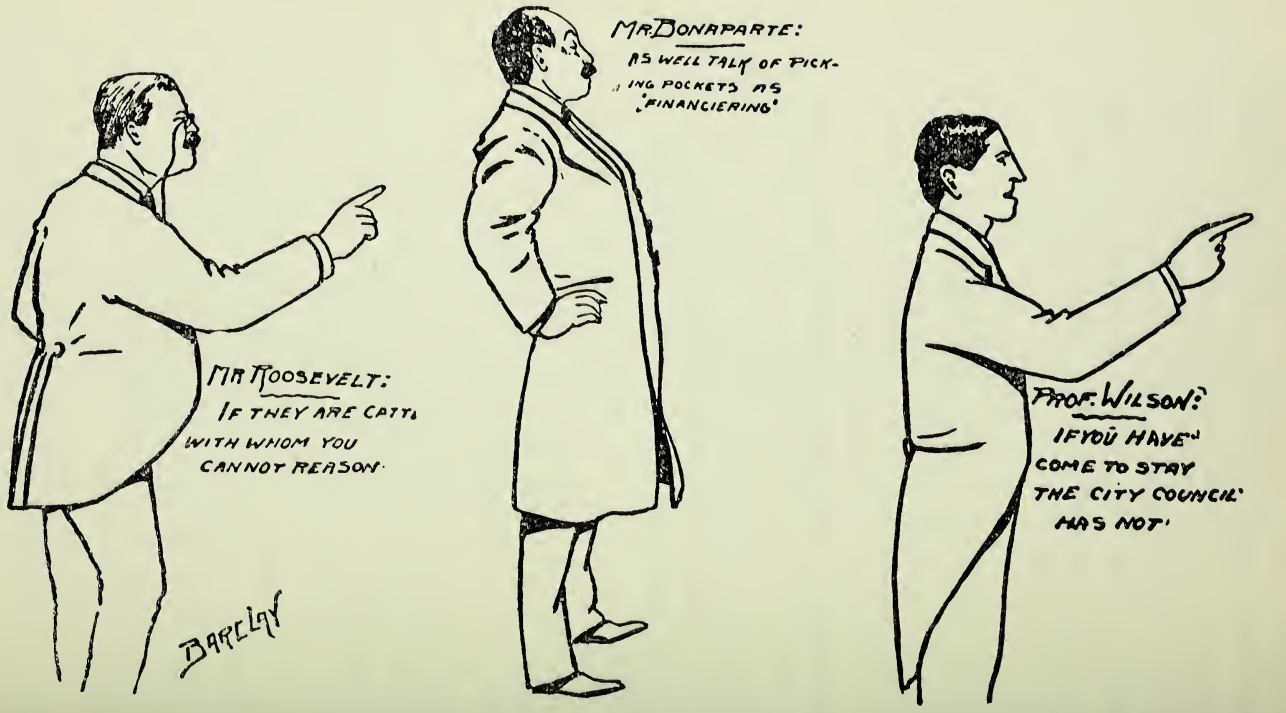
ing its feature story, occupying a right hand column on the first page. The gathering would be "composed of citizens, irrespective of party, who believe in good government" and who would inform the City Council "what the people thought of their anarchistic tendencies." Mr. Roosevelt, "one of the leading Republicans of the country" was presented as the major attraction, but Wilson was presented as what might now be called the "second feature":

> Another distinguished speaker will be Prof. Woodrow Wilson of Princeton College, who has been delivering lectures at the Johns Hopkins University on municipal government. He is a recognized authority on municipal subjects and his work on Congressional government is regarded by scholars as the best of its kind published in a generation. In addition, he is an effective and eloquent speaker.

In addition to Roosevelt and Wilson five prominent citizens of Baltimore were to address the meeting. Mr. Joseph Packard, President of the Reform League, was to call the meeting to order and Mr. Charles R. Levering was to preside. The other speakers were to be Messrs. George Whitelock, George R. Gaither, and Charles J. Bonaparte who was later to be a member of Roosevelt's Cabinet.

On the same page, next to the news that the Italian ministry was to resign as a result of Italian defeats in Abyssinia, is a report that Mr. Bruce's bill to give the Mayor of Baltimore absolute power of appointment had come to a final reading in the Maryland Senate. As law students at Virginia University William Cabell Bruce and Wilson had been bitter rivals for the principal prizes in literature and debating—Bruce being successful in gaining both prizes. Bruce in 1896 was President of the Maryland Senate and was to have a notable career which included winning the Pulitzer Prize for a biography of Franklin and a term in the United States Senate. His contests with Wilson at the University resulted in the first recorded personal enmity in Wilson's life.[45] In supporting Mayor Hooper, therefore, Wilson happened to be working for a common cause not only with the most important political rival of his later years, but also with the most eminent antagonist of his youth.

[45] William Cabell Bruce, *Recollections* (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 69-80; A. W. Patterson, *Personal Recollections of Woodrow Wilson* (Richmond, 1929), pp. 14-18.


MR ROOSEVELT:
IF THEY ARE CATTLE WITH WHOM YOU CANNOT REASON
BARCLAY
MR. BONAPARTE:
AS WELL TALK OF PICKING POCKETS AS 'FINANCIERING'
PROF. WILSON:
IF YOU HAVE COME TO STAY THE CITY COUNCIL HAS NOT'

Of the three other important Baltimore newspapers—the *Sun*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *American*—only the *Sun* carried any advance notice of the Music Hall gathering, but all reported it at length the next day, devoting to it from three to five full columns and all but the *Morning Herald* making it the subject of editorial comment.[46] The accounts naturally differ according to the political views of the various journals.

The *News*, organ of the Reform League, was naturally the loudest in acclaim of the meeting. It termed it a " Monster Non-Partisan Assemblage " which had spoken " with no uncertain sound on the revolutionary and anarchistic course of the spoils-mad servants of the people." That 3500 crowded into the hall in spite of the bitter weather and the competition of De Rezske and Melba singing " Romeo and Juliet " with the Metropolitan Opera Company was evidence that " right-thinking people " were at last aware of their power and that " public conscience is awakened from the lethargic condition into which it lapsed under ring rule."

Each of the speakers, according to the *News*, made " a distinct hit." Theodore Roosevelt's remarks were " especially burning," and Woodrow Wilson, " an eloquent talker," made " a pleasing address." The *News* achieved the distinction of publishing what is almost certainly the first political caricature of Wilson, along with others of Bonaparte, Roosevelt, and Whitelock. The artist, while not achieving a likeness of Wilson, has emphasized, as did scores of cartoonists later, his pointed nose and long lower jaw; he has portrayed both Roosevelt and Wilson using the same gesture—a forefinger pointed at the audience.

The *Sun*, which had been supporting Mayor Hooper, gave an even more detailed if less panegyrical account of the meeting than did the *News*, mentioning Emerich's orchestra which entertained the assembly before it was called to order and between speeches, the two hundred vice-presidents sitting on the stage behind the speakers, and the great demonstration when Mr. Roosevelt appeared. The *Sun* estimated the number in the hall at 4000. It printed all the speeches *verbatim.*

Roosevelt, addressing the crowd as " fellow Americans," chose to emphasize the harm the Councilmen were doing to the Re-

[46] With one noted exception the quotations from these newspapers are from the issues of March 4, 1896.

publican Party. He likened the Council to a mule on a Mississippi steamer which ate up a placard on which its destination was written, whereupon a colored deckhand remarked, "Captain, he's dun et up the place whar he was going at." Baltimore must see to it that the Councilmen, who are by way of destroying the party they were elected to serve, be held to a "rigid accountability" for their misdeeds. If they are reasonable, they must be made to listen to reason; "if they are of the cattle with whom you cannot reason, make them understand some other way." Similar situations had appeared in New York, where officials had been voted in "who thought their duty was only to take the place of the scoundrels they had displaced." Of the bills Roosevelt had introduced when a member of the New York legislature he was proudest of that which gave the Mayor of New York the sole power of appointment; it had been passed "on the ground that we wanted one man and not a small mob responsible for the appointments. If we elected the wrong man and got a bad mayor, we got it in the neck and we deserved it."

Wilson's address was the shortest of the evening. In it, as in many of his campaign addresses after he had entered politics, he rang the changes on one simple point. Evidently he easily mastered his audience because the *Sun* notes "applause" and "laughter" more frequently for him than for any other speaker. Since this is probably Wilson's first political speech, it is herewith given in full:

I know that this meeting has been called to protest an action of the City Council, but I wish to express my obligation to the City Council for giving me the opportunity of appearing on this stand as a citizen of Baltimore. I can speak of myself as a Baltimorean, I think, for I spent several years in this city and have been a regular visitor here since I left.

For the last two or three weeks I have been lecturing at the Johns Hopkins University, and the subjects of my lectures have been so timely that I have had the best advertising I ever had. I suddenly found that I had become an authority upon municipal government, simply because I got in the position of agreeing with the best people in town.

A scene like this to-night ought to suggest to the members of the City Council that they should have themselves nominated for reelection (Laughter). No Council for years has stirred up so much feeling, and, by offering themselves for reelection the Councilmen can readily ascertain what that feeling is.

What I want to know is whether you who are here to-night have come to this meeting "to stay?" By that I mean whether this will be a dis-

play of spasmodic strength on your part, or whether you will go forth to put your shoulder to the wheel of good government. All I say is that if you have come 'to stay' the City Council has not (Cheers). Take up the sword before you take up the horn.

The motive of this meeting is to show that the last election meant something and that the next election will mean something (Applause). The next is more important from the politicians' standpoint than the last (Laughter). Before the last election there was a tacit understanding that the city government should be reformed as you intended it should be. The question of machineries and arrangements are not questions of this moment. If any of these spoilsmen says that he did not comprehend that understanding, he may not be a knave but he is certainly a fool (Applause).

I am a believer in the long processes of reform. Everything will come as you mean it if only you continue to mean it. The old saw says that everything comes to him that waits—if he knows what he is waiting for. By knowing what you propose and maintaining a strict abiding by that purpose you must necessarily finally attain the ends which you have been and are even now striving for.

In the struggle between Mayor and Council the *Baltimore American* had stood squarely behind the aldermen. It had characterized Mayor Hooper's appointment of Democrats to office as no less strange than would be the appointment by a Catholic prelate of a rabbi to carry out an important Church mission.[47] Its account of the Music Hall gathering did not, however, differ greatly from that in the *Sun*. It admitted the hall was "well-filled," and gave excerpts from Wilson's speech without comment. But in an editorial it maintained that a Police Commissioner of New York City had no business telling Baltimore how to run its affairs: Roosevelt had been imported because he was needed to fill the house: "The opera needed a New York prima donna to attract the people in spite of the fact that the roles were very well filled and the chorus large and well trained."

The *American* also pointed out that the Reform League did not have matters all its own way because "Republican Clubs all over the city were holding meetings, and adopting strong resolutions expressing the most unbounded confidence in the city councilmen who have set themselves against Mayor Hooper. . . ." On the same page as the story of the Music Hall meeting the *American* reported meetings of the "the James G. Blaine Club of the First Ward," "the Union League Club of the Twentieth Ward,"

[47] *Baltimore American*, Feb. 26.

" the Young Men's Republican Club of the Sixth Ward," and half a dozen similar organizations who collectively professed to fear dictatorship and denounced the Mayor as a man who had betrayed his party.

The *Morning Herald* had also been ranged against Mayor Hooper, but in a less partisan spirit than the *American*. On the evidence of its treatment of the mass meeting of March 3 the comic spirit must have been hovering over its press room even before the advent of H. L. Mencken. In a story entitled " ROOTING FOR HIS HONOR " the *Herald* poured ridicule on the whole proceeding. It estimated the crowd at only 3000 and implied that a good proportion of that number was to be found in the galleries reserved respectively for ladies and for a " numerous and enthusiastic " delegation of colored people. The speakers devoted themselves to flaying the Councilmen and " Every now and then some one in the gallery who was asking for even more contumely to be heaped on the Councilmanic heads urged the speaker to ' give it to 'em ' and the advice was usually heeded." The *Herald* remarked of " Teddy of New York ":

> When he talked his mouth took on that teeth-gnashing bulldog expression which is a true index to his determined character. He talked for awhile about affairs in New York; how rotten they were before he took hold of things and how purified they have since become.

As for " Professor Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton College, and a Johns Hopkins University Man . . . introduced as an authority on municipal government," according to the *Herald*, " he talked much of Civil Service Reform and the like. . . . " Wilson had not mentioned civil service reform; the *Herald* reporter was obviously attempting to give the impression that here was just another impractical professor pleading to make jobs dependent upon competitive examinations.

The great mass meeting failed to overawe the councilmen and the breach between them and Mayor Hooper continued to the end of his administration. Nor did the citizens of Baltimore heed Wilson's advice to stay interested in municipal reform; in 1897 the Democratic machine returned to power.

This whole adventure, however, must have heartened Wilson in the hope that if he could not realize his ambition for an active political career, he might, like his idol Walter Bagehot, become a " literary politician ":

. . . the man to whom, by reason of knowledge and imagination and sympathetic insight, government and policies are as open books, but who, instead of trying to put haphazard characters of his own into these books, wisely prefers to read their pages aloud to others. A man who knows politics and yet does not handle policies.[48]

He had obviously made a personal triumph, for in 1897 his lectures at Johns Hopkins were again attended by " persons from the city," about sixty in number. " An evidence of appreciation of Professor Wilson's public instruction was seen in a gift of $50 by two ladies for the purchase of standard books of historical and political science for the benefit of the University." [49]

It is possible that Wilson's speaking on municipal reform in Baltimore in 1896 may have helped to nominate him for the Presidency in the Baltimore Convention of 1912. In March, 1940, the *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine* published an article on Newton D. Baker's part in the 1912 Democratic Convention and in this account it is suggested that Wilson's " interesting address at the Lyric about 1900 on the purely local contest then on between the mayor and the city council " had helped to predispose many Baltimoreans in his favor.[50] Furthermore, Charles H. Grasty and Fabian Franklin of the *News*, which in 1896 had given Wilson ' the best advertising he ever had,' were later to play important parts in making Wilson the Democratic nominee for President. Franklin went from the *News* to the New York *Evening Post* and was managing editor of the latter paper while Wilson was Governor of New Jersey. The *Evening Post* reported his fight for reform in New Jersey as fully as it reported affairs in Albany and was the first New York paper to support his presidential aspirations.[51] Grasty by 1912 had become owner of the *Sun* and strenuously supported Wilson's candidacy. The *Sun*, according to Ray Stannard Baker in the *Life and Letters of Woodrow Wilson*, was a " bulwark of strength." Grasty had corresponded with Wilson for " several years " and in the spring of 1912 had begun to send the *Sun* to all delegates to the Demo-

[48] *Mere Literature and Other Essays* (Boston, 1896), p. 69.
[49] *Twenty-second Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 58.
[50] " Mr. Baker Supports Mr. Wilson," by W. Calvin Chesnut, *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, XVIII (1940), 81-82.
[51] Villard, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-222.

cratic Convention.[52] Henry Morgenthau credited the *Sun* with creating "an atmosphere of Wilson optimism" in Baltimore with "undoubted effect upon the delegates." [53]

The Baltimore episode described in the foregoing pages was not an isolated example of Wilson's attracting widespread public notice as a result of his speeches on politics during his professorial years. As early as 1889 he had given an address before the Connecticut Assembly which, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler remembers, attracted a great deal of attention.[54] His lecture on "The State and Social Reform" in Providence had been the subject of editorial praise in the *Boston Herald* for its value in educating public opinion.[55] By the time Wilson became President of Princeton in 1902, the first faint efforts to launch him in politics had begun. In May of that year a letter to the Indianapolis *Independent News*, over the pseudonym "Old-Fashioned Democrat," suggested Wilson as the type of man to lead the Democratic party, "a man of affairs, a scholar, a patriot and a man whose very presence inspires enthusiastic devotion." [56] Among the crowd who gathered to see Wilson inaugurated President of Princeton was William J. Thompson, the Democratic boss of Gloucester County in southern New Jersey who had already conceived the notion that Wilson should run for Governor of the State. Thompson brought a friend to the inauguration solely to get his opinion on Wilson as a possible candidate.[57] All of which reenforces R. S. Baker's contention that the part George Harvey and others played in bringing Wilson into politics has perhaps been exaggerated, that, in short, Wilson was "his own Warwick." [58]

[52] R. S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters* (New York, 1927-), III, 329-330.

[53] *All in a Life-time*, p. 146, quoted by R. S. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[54] N. M. Butler to author, February 4, 1940; chronological index of Wilson's speeches kept by Katharine E. Brand, Special Custodian of the Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.

[55] November 13, 1889.

[56] May 5, 1902, clipping in the scrap-book of C. W. McAlpin, Secretary of Princeton University, Princeton University Library; the letter is described in R. S. Baker's *Woodrow Wilson*, III, 6-7.

[57] "Is the Liar In?," unpublished autobiography of George W. Watt, in his possession.

[58] R. S. Baker, *op. cit.*, III, 11.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Charles Branch Clark

(Continued from Vol. XXXVI, page 393, "Maryland in the Special Session of Congress, July, 1861")

In his message to Congress, read on July 5, President Lincoln asked for an appropriation of $400,000,000 and for the raising of 400,000 men in order to make "this contest a short and decisive one." The President's defense of his extraordinary acts since the fall of Fort Sumter was of special interest to Maryland. He believed that the call for 75,000 troops, and the proclamation of the blockade were strictly legal. The call for three-year troops and the increase in the regular army and navy would, he hoped, be ratified "then and now" by Congress, if not strictly legal. The President declared that it had been necessary to the public safety to authorize the commanding general to suspend the writ of habeas corpus; and the act was no violation of the Constitution. This subject engaged the attention of Congress from the first day, and concerned Maryland directly because of the famed Merryman case, that caused so much unfavorable action in that State. Lincoln called to task the "border states—so called—in fact, the middle States," for favoring "a policy which they called 'armed neutrality'; that is, an arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing one way, or the disunion the other, over their soil." The President very obviously had Maryland in mind since Governor Hicks, in his proclamation calling for Maryland's quota of troops on May 14, had said he hoped Maryland could maintain a neutral position. Such action, said Lincoln, would "be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation—and yet not quite an impassable one; for, under the guise of neutrality, it would tie the hands of the Union men." Supplies could then be passed freely from them to the insurrectionists, "which it could not do as an open enemy." This would do for the disunionists what they most desired—"feed them well and give them disunion without a struggle of their own." Furthermore, it "recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to

maintain the Union; and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens,[56] it is nevertheless very injurious in effect."

When Congress settled down to the business, the Maryland representatives were only moderately active in the debates. Henry May provided fireworks sufficient for them all, however, and Francis Thomas and Charles B. Calvert did not always pull their punches. Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives on the first day of the special session. Calvert and Crisfield received one vote each. Francis Thomas voted for Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, and Crisfield, Leary, and Webster voted for Crittenden of Kentucky.[57] Each of the Maryland representatives cast his vote for a Border stater. In the election of a sergeant-at-arms on the second day, Calvert nominated William L. W. Seabrook, Land Commissioner of Maryland, for the position, and he received the unanimous vote of the Maryland delegation present,[58] but was not chosen.

The Maryland representatives received appointments on prominent committees. Webster was named on the Committee on Claims and the Committee of Public Expenditures; Calvert was on the District of Columbia, and the Agricultural Committees; Leary, on the Committee on Commerce; Crisfield, the Committee on Public Lands; and Henry May on the Judiciary Committee.[59]

On the 15th of July May, who had not yet taken his seat, was charged by John F. Potter of Wisconsin with aiding and abetting the enemy. He introduced, and the House passed, the following resolution:

> That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to inquire whether Hon. Henry May, a Representative in Congress from the fourth district of the State of Maryland, has not been found holding criminal intercourse and correspondence with persons in armed rebellion against the Government of the United States, and to make a report to the House as to what action should be taken in the premises; and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers, and to examine witnesses on

[56] Governor Hicks had by this time definitely cast his lot with the Union, and apparently was one of those referred to here.

[57] *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 4. May did not respond to the roll call on this day.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 11. Seabrook was the author of *Maryland's Great Part in Saving the Union.*

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

oath or affirmation; and that said Hon. Henry May be notified of the passage of this resolution, if practicable, before action thereon by the committee.[60]

Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts wanted to know what jurisdiction the House had over May, since he had never taken his seat or been qualified as a member. Potter replied that May's name was on the roll, that he was a member of the House, that charges made against him in the above resolutions had also been made in the public newspapers of Washington, and " it is but justice to Mr. May himself that the charge should be investigated." [61] Potter wanted the resolution referred to the Judiciary Committee at once, not waiting for May's attendance. Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio stated that May had gone to Richmond with the knowledge and consent of the administration, and with the authority of General Scott. Elihu Benjamin Washburne of Illinois denied this but Vallandigham maintained that May had a passport issued by Scott— which could not have been issued without the knowledge and consent of the administration. John A. McClernand of Illinois agreed that May had a pass from Scott [62] and, although he did not know what May's mission was, he knew May personally and believed him to be a " patriotic and loyal gentleman." Furthermore, May was at that time in Baltimore detained by illness.[63] William A. Richardson of Illinois said that May's brother, a physician living in Washington, had told him that Henry May was confined in Baltimore with a " severe sickness," which fact he had been asked to make known to the House if any question should arise. Richardson said that May had been detained in Richmond by illness, and it was " exceedingly improper for the House to take any action in the matter." Vallandigham described May's mission to Richmond as one of " political character, a mission of peace, with the knowledge and acquiescence of the Administration, and by the authority

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 131. [61] *Ibid.*

[62] This point is readily cleared up by the following order from Army Headquarters in Washington, June 29, 1861, by E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General, who " by command of General Winfield Scott " ordered: " Hon. H. May, of Baltimore and a member of Congress elect, wishing on business of his own to visit Virginia and to return to take his seat in the Capital next week, will be freely allowed to pass and repass our guards and sentinels, receiving from them and all our officers and men due respect and consideration." *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 790.

[63] *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 132.

of General Scott; bearing a pass, not in the ordinary form, but entitling him to be passed behind the lines, and after a conference with General Scott, disclosing the purpose for which he went to Richmond." [64] Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania wanted to know if the administration was " tampering with the rebels . . . whether there is to be any negotiation, or parley, or truce, except to bury the dead, until every rebel lays down his arms." [65] Calvert of Maryland said that President Lincoln had stated to him that May asked for authority to go to Richmond, not to speak for the government, but to go there as a member of Congress. William Kellogg, of Illinois, urged that the friends of May and of the administration, in justice to both, allow the investigation to be made, since there was a difference of opinion over the nature of May's trip. Richardson and Vallandigham urged once again that in justice to May nothing be done until he took his seat in the House.

The day after the passage of the resolution, John A. Bingham of Ohio, acting chairman of the Judiciary Committee, sent a communication to Henry May, inclosing a copy of the resolution passed the day before, saying: " It will be the pleasure of the committee to take up the resolution for consideration as soon as the state of your health may allow." [66] On July 18 John B. Hickman of Pennsylvania reported for the Judiciary Committee as follows:

> That the gentleman moving the resolution of inquiry (Mr. Potter) was called before the committee, but declared himself ignorant of, and unable to produce any evidence tending to prove, any of the matters referred to in the resolutions, but that they were founded upon newspaper articles only. The committee having nothing before them to implicate Mr. May in holding criminal intercourse and correspondence with persons in armed rebellion against the Government, therefore recommend no action in the case as necessary on the part of the House.
>
> The Committee further report, that the investigation before them entirely relieves the President of the United States and Lieutenant General Scott of any suspicion of a correspondence or attempted correspondence through Mr. May.[67]

This report was ordered to be printed; and May was given unanimous consent to offer a personal explanation. Fearing that

[64] *Ibid.*
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 791.
[67] *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 196.

he might "not have another opportunity again to be heard," [68] May explained fully. He had only "indignation and disgust" for the "unparalleled outrage on the privileges of a Representative" committed by the Judiciary Committee in preferring charges based "upon mere newspaper rumor" and "idle gossip of the hour," without a "shadow of evidence to sustain" them. The committee had violated the principle "that there was some presumption due to the character of a Representative; some respect for the people who elected him; some presumption in favor of the principle of representation." To him personally, "the issue was of the lightest consequence," but he was humiliated for his constituents, "bound in chains; absolutely without the rights of a free people in this land; every precious right belonging to them under the Constitution, prostrated and trampled in the dust." He bitterly condemned the military arrests, searches and seizures, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and of "hopeless imprisonment inflicted without accusation, without inquiry or investigation, or the prospect of a trial," and appealed to the representatives to redress these outrages.

John Hutchins of Ohio protested that instead of making a personal explanation, for which he had asked permission, May was using the occasion to tell how his constituents were treated by the national government. The Speaker ruled, however, that neither he nor the House, could judge what made up a personal explanation. Whereupon May continued, and said he appealed as one who "from the beginning, has as earnestly and resolutely, as any man in this land, resisted the heresy of secession"; who "has stood faithfully by the Union of these States"; but he spoke also in the "spirit of a citizen who owes obligations higher than these—that highest of duties which binds him to maintain the Constitution of his country." He called upon the "Representatives of the people, if they have the manhood and spirit worthy of their country, to emancipate the down-trodden people of Baltimore from the military tyranny under which they are now groaning, and which has so utterly prostrated their constitutional liberties."

Thaddeus Stevens moved that May was out of order. The Speaker refused to entertain the motion. Stevens was not satis-

[68] *Ibid.* See pp. 196-202 for subsequent debate and remarks.

fied, and appealed " from the decision of the chair." Vallandigham moved to lay the appeal on the table. Both motions failed and May was allowed to continue. He said that if he was to be subjected to " this sort of interruption and restriction," he would await a better occasion and improved health. He did, however, present the memorial from the Baltimore police. May said that while the language of the memorial was respectful to the House, it was " at the same time in the spirit of citizens fully conscious of their constitutional rights, and resolved to claim them here."

Schuyler Colfax of Indiana questioned May about the report of the newspapers of Richmond, quoted in the Baltimore *Sun*. May was reported to have expressed to " the so-called government at Richmond, the belief that there were thirty thousand men in Maryland who were chafing under their subjugation, and who therefore were ready to rise at the first opportunity." [69] May denied knowledge of any such article, whereupon Francis Thomas of Maryland handed him a copy. Upon Thomas' request May allowed the clerk to read the entire article. In part, it reads as follows:

> The principle bubble upon the wave of Richmond life today, or rather yesterday [July 3] was the arrival of Hon. Henry May, of Baltimore, the successful competitor there, against Henry Winter Davis, the Black Republican candidate. The object of his visit has not transpired, but it is loudly whispered that it looks toward certain events in Maryland, which may have an influence in determining the continuance of the war. The intelligence he brings from there is gloomy enough to make an American weep. According to his statement Baltimore is as effectually under the heel of the tyrant as if the head of every man was in iron fetters. Federal troops are encamped in its squares and patrol its streets, cannon are planted at corners; citizens are arrested for even breathing secession; women are insulted with impunity . . . and in a word, a reign of terror has been inaugurated. . . .
>
> Thirty thousand men are said to be under arms, waiting concerted action. Silently and stealthily they have been preparing for the event which they know must come. . . . *I have ascertained that not less than 8,000 muskets are at this moment concealed and vigilantly guarded night and day.*
>
> . . . My informant believes that a battle there is imminent.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 197-198. The article spoken of by Colfax was a letter written on July 4 from Richmond and published in the *Charleston Courier*, and reprinted in the Baltimore *Sun*. It can be found also in *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 792.

May denied that he knew who had written the article. He could vouch for the fact that no conspiracy existed, but, that "there are thirty thousand men—ay, and more—who unless the heel of oppression is lifted from them, will, if they get the opportunity, vindicate their constitutional rights and liberties, is absolutely right." He himself would be one of them, "on grounds of constitutional rights, and to resist tyranny and oppression . . . on grounds of consecrated and defined legal right." He maintained that his mission to Virginia had been a private one. He went as a mediator, not as a pacificator. Lincoln had not been asked to sanction the mission, but he had not objected to May going on his own responsibility. Neither Lincoln nor Scott, however, were implicated in any way.

Colfax interrupted to say that if May talked to the Confederate leaders as he had just spoken to the House of Representatives, he would have been regarded at Richmond as a Southern sympathizer rather than a mediator. May admitted that he had everywhere "spoken the language of denunciation of tyranny," and that he intended to continue doing so.[70]

At this point Thomas of Maryland asked for and secured permission to speak.[71] He asserted that Maryland in "her heart of hearts," speaking through a majority of her people, approved of the measures of Lincoln and of the way General Banks had exercised his powers in carrying out such measures.[72] His election and that of his colleagues was proof, said Thomas, that they supported the administration and its military measures. He approved the use of martial law in Maryland, and admitted that the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the arrest of suspicious

[70] May had been given permission by Confederate Secretary of War, Leroy Pope Walker, and Albert T. Bledsoe, Chief of the Bureau of War, to "visit Harper's Ferry, or any other point in the Confederacy upon his honor as a man that he will not communicate in writing or verbally for publication any fact ascertained by him." *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 796.

[71] *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 199. Philip Johnson of Pennsylvania objected to Thomas making a "stump speech." Thomas said he never made one of that type, but the people he represented did not expect him to remain "dumb as a sheep at a shearing when a challenge to the arena is ringing in my ears."

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 199. At this point there was continued applause on the floor and in the galleries. The Speaker warned the latter he would have to clear them if such demonstrations continued, and told the House members they would be arrested if they applauded. Thomas himself asked that no demonstration as applauding take place, for he would be "mortified" by it.

persons was the constitutional right of the military commanders. The latter supersede " all civil power which stands in the way," he said. In the end Maryland would laud the military even if they " trespassed a little upon the rights of individuals " when suppressing the insurrection and putting an end to attacking troops and burning bridges.

At this point Thomas allowed May to have the clerk read a letter written on May 3 by Police Marshal George P. Kane of Baltimore to Charles Howard, President of the Police Board. May said it would completely vindicate Kane for his conduct on April 19 when he had exposed his life " over and over " again to " protect the troops." The letter intended to show that Kane had been loyal on April 19. May said he knew of no " braver, more honorable or franker man in the land than Kane," and supported him in all but his telegram to Bradley T. Johnson.[73] Thomas, however, while not doubting for one moment " the honor or patriotism of Marshal Kane," felt that there were " differences of opinion as to the manner in which public functionaries discharge their duties; and it is this difference of opinion which led to Marshal Kane's arrest. That is all." [74] Thomas recognized the police commissioners as men of the " first character, socially, privately, and publicly," but as police commissioners they were unworthy of their positions since they sanctioned all that Kane did—" his crimes of omission as well as commission." Thomas expressed his appreciation of General Banks' action in arresting Kane and the Police Board, and for his great courtesy and demeanor in Maryland.[75]

On July 24 a bill was reported in the House by Thaddeus Stevens, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, to appropriate $100,000 for the payment of the police organized by the Federal government in Baltimore. Not more than $20,000 was to be

[73] When May was arrested in September, 1861, a letter from Kane to him, written on July 6 at Fort McHenry, was found among his papers. It read: " I challenge the world for any evidence impeaching my integrity and any act of my life." May said that unless advised otherwise by his lawyers he intended to investigate the " conduct of those by whom I am held prisoner." *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 796-797.

[74] *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 201.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 202. Thomas said he was willing to allow Banks to be the umpire between May and himself on deciding Kane's loyalty or disloyalty. May said let the " courts and a jury of the land be the umpires "; whereupon Thomas said: " Not in time of war." *Ibid.*, p. 201.

expended for the purpose in any one month.[76] Henry C. Burnett of Kentucky was given the floor and roundly denounced the use of military force in Maryland. He said her rights as a sovereign state had been violated by the establishment of this military police commission in Baltimore, and the imprisoning of the lawful body. Burnett was opposed to this service being paid for by the Federal government. William Alexander Richardson of Illinois then engaged in a bitter discussion with Burnett, saying that Burnett was largely "responsible this day for the condition in which the country now finds itself. When he aided, by his counsel, advice, and cooperation, the division of the Democratic party at Charleston and Baltimore, he brought the existing sad calamity upon the Union." Such a scene developed that Stevens said the bill did not require discussion and that he had yielded to Burnett only to give him an opportunity of "vindicating his principles and his position," before the House.[77] Henry May asked for permission to say "a word or two." Stevens inquired if May desired to ask a question. "I will limit my observations to the consideration of the question," said May. "Oh no," said Stevens, "I do not yield for observations." "I am the Representative of Baltimore," May persisted. But Stevens said he had "already granted too large an indulgence for debate." "Then," said May, "I can only protest, as I do solemnly against the bill. It is a bill to provide the wages of oppression."[78] Stevens, holding the floor, termed Kane a "traitor," and said the police board was made up of the same type of characters. The legislature had not been appealed to for the removal of these traitors because "every one knows that the Legislature of the State of Maryland is a Legislature of traitors—a rebel Legislature. Its members are deeply imbued with the very principles that have created this terrible war." May called for the yeas and nays on the passage of Stevens' bill, but only eight members supported him. Burnett then called for a division. The question was taken and the bill was passed.[79] On the next day, July 25, the bill, amended by the Senate, was considered in the Committee of the Whole. May was not present to address the committee as was expected. As amended by the Senate the bill was entitled: "An Act to provide

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 244.
[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 244-246.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 246.
[79] *Ibid.*

for the payment of the police organized by the United States for the city of Baltimore; and to enable the mint to furnish small gold coin; and to provide for the manufacture or purchase of field signals." [80] The House concurred in the amendments.

May was persistent in his defense of the Baltimore police commissioners. On July 31 he offered a resolution from "legal authority" in Baltimore. This resolution contained little that May had not previously stated on the floor of the House. He said that since the arrest and imprisonment of the Police Board, a grand jury "attending the United States district court in Baltimore, and selected and summoned by a marshal appointed by the present executive of the United States, having jurisdiction in the premises, and having fully investigated all cases of alleged violation of law," had adjourned its session without finding any "presentment or indictment or other proceeding against them, or either of them." [81] The resolution also stated that the President had not heeded the request of the House of Representatives to disclose the reasons, grounds, or evidence for the arrest of the Police Board. May said that the constitutional privilege of the writ of habeas corpus had been treated with contempt. Resolved, therefore,

> That the arrest and imprisonment of Charles Howard, William H. Gatchell, and John W. Davis, and others, without warrant and process of law, is flagrantly unconstitutional and illegal; and they should, without delay, be released, or their case remitted to the proper judicial tribunals, to be lawfully heard and determined.[82]

The Speaker ruled that the resolution was not in order because the House at the moment was "confined to the consideration of bills and resolutions relating to military and naval operations and financial questions relating thereto, and judicial questions of a general character." May fumed at this, and contended in vain that his resolution related to the military operations of the United States. He asked: "Is it not an allegation of the tyranny prac-

[80] The small gold coin were to be for the "public service, $40,000 or so much thereof as may be necessary."—$5,000 was to be used for the "manufacture or purchase of apparatus and equipment for field signals." The bill became law on July 27 by the President's signature. *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 276, 362.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 288, 367. May had attempted unsuccessfully to introduce this resolution on July 26.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

tised under color of military authority?" He appealed the decision of the chair but withdrew the appeal when Thaddeus Stevens stated that the resolution was actually a speech, and a speech was not in order at that time.

The conduct of May called forth criticism from the *Baltimore Clipper*. It declared that the Fourth District of Maryland was misrepresented in Congress, and that May had concealed his real sentiments until after the June election. Both sides had elected him, thinking him "all right." As it turned out, said this paper, he was "all right" with one side, but "all wrong" with the other.[83]

May continued, however, to demand for himself and others the right to express their views in the House.[84] On August 5, however, he joined Calvert of Maryland in pushing the following resolution:

> *Resolved* (The Senate concurring herein), That a joint committee, to consist of nine members of this House and four members of the Senate, be appointed to consider and report to Congress such amendments to the Constitution and laws as may be necessary to restore mutual confidence and insure a more perfect and desirable union amongst these States.

This resolution was laid on the table by a vote of 72 to 39. Maryland's entire delegation voted for the resolution.[85]

May then offered a series of resolutions calculated to procure an armistice between the contending armies, and to "restore peace at all events."[86] He said Congress should appoint commissioners to "arrange a compromise to preserve the Union, if possible; but if not, then a peaceful separation of the respective states of the Union," those that had seceded, and any others that might take such action. These commissioners should also so conduct "their negotiations as to obtain, if possible, in the future, a happy, harmonious, and perpetual reconstruction of our Union of States." May blamed the Republican party, "founded as it is, on a sectional, social and political question," for the country's misfortunes. It was the uncompromising spirit of this party, he said, that had prevented peaceful compromise when it was possible. If

[83] August 1, 1861. The conduct of Maryland's two Senators, to be discussed below, was also censured by this journal.
[84] *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 411.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 445.
[86] *Ibid.*

the war continued, " the only safety and refuge of constitutional government and civil liberty will be found in the constitutions and sovereignty of the several States." In them was the " only hope of a future and more harmonious reconstruction of the Union." The South was too fully prepared and resolved, said May, to be subjugated by force. May's resolution was not acted upon and he left the floor. Shortly thereafter, Alexander S. Diven of New York offered the following resolution:

> That at a time when an armed rebellion is threatening the integrity of the Union and the overthrow of the Government, any and all resolutions or recommendations designed to make terms with armed rebels, are either cowardly or treasonable.[87]

This resolution was not received by the House. On the following day, Diven asked permission to make an explanation since he understood his resolution was offensive to some members of the House. He asserted that he had " meant nothing personally offensive," but " simply to condemn a principle and not to question the motives, the integrity, or honesty of anybody who advocated that principle." [88] May, indicating that he had been offended, volunteered that Diven's explanation was " entirely satisfactory." [89]

Henry May seemed to be earnestly seeking a peaceful compromise. But he preferred to see the Confederacy prosper rather than see states oppressed and constitutional rights and guarantees denied. His congressional speeches were lauded by many of his constituents. It may be true that among those constituents were many whose loyalty had been found wanting or totally lacking. Yet he was their representative as well as the representative of his loyal constituents. After his speech of July 18 on his mission to Richmond, May received a letter from Henry M. Warfield, later arrested as a disloyal member of the state legislature, in which Warfield said:

> I can not feel satisfied without thanking you as a Marylander for the noble stand you have taken amongst a powerful opposition which has trampled under foot the glorious heritage once vouchsafed to the humblest of American citizens. May God protect you and give you health and strength. . . .[90]

[87] *Ibid.* [88] *Ibid.*, p. 458. [89] *Ibid.*

[90] *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 796-797. This letter was written on July 19, 1861, and found in May's possession when he was arrested in September.

J. P. Poe of Baltimore wrote to May on the same day commending his speech. The "manner in which you denounced the insolent and contemptible attempt to injure you and the tyrannical usurpation which has trampled our rights here receives the sanction of all those whose opinions are worth anything." Poe was particularly pleased with the stand May had taken because it vindicated Poe's declarations made before the June election to "some who were not disposed to give you [May] their votes that you would if elected do everything that could be done to vindicate the rights and protect the interests of Baltimore." He closed by saying: "It is a consolation to know that our Representative will under all circumstances remain true to us and to himself." [91]

Except for May, Thomas, and Calvert, the Maryland representatives were generally inactive on the floor of the House. Calvert strongly supported direct property taxes on July 25 when the additional revenue bill was being considered. He stated that he had come to the House prepared to sanction every measure necessary to carry on the war and he wanted no species of property exempted. Taxes should fall alike upon land, Negroes, and other kinds of property—real and personal. He had no use for temporary measures such as the issuance of Treasury notes at nine percent, and would have voted against the same had he been present at the time the vote was recorded.[92] Calvert said he realized that odium was attached to a system of direct taxation, but he cared nothing about that odium. "If it is just," he said, "let us adopt it. It is not half as odious as this revolution." He pointed to Maryland's use of the direct taxation system, by which the State had reduced an enormous debt and said that the "odiousness" of the system was not important if it brought satisfactory results.[93]

Thomas submitted the following resolution, read, considered, and agreed to on July 22:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law of the United States, the times,

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 797. See a similar letter to May from J. F. Lee, Judge Advocate, U. S. Army, *ibid.*

[92] This bill passed on July 25. *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 268. Crisfield voted for it, Leary against it, and the votes of the other Maryland Congressmen are not recorded.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

places, and manner of holding elections for members of the House of Representatives in all the States, in pursuance of the authority given to Congress by the fourth section of the first article of the Constitution.[94]

In September Henry May was arrested by order of the Secretary of War and committed to Fort McHenry and later to Forts Monroe and Lafayette. His arrest was contemporaneous with that of Mayor Brown of Baltimore and members of the Maryland legislature. No other congressmen from Maryland were arrested. Their speeches had all been temperate compared with his. May's papers were seized at the time of his arrest. They contained letters from various people and some he had written but never mailed. In one of the latter, dated May 3, May offered Governor Hicks his support in protecting the constitutional rights of Maryland, and stated that he would stand by Hicks "in this mad crusade against the principles of republicanism . . . and resist with their lives the plot of a revolutionary cohort." [95] In a manuscript, apparently written by May, it was charged that the spirit of the North was "bitter and sanguinary and conducive of discord and not Union and obviously leading to a consolidated or military government." On October 10, 1861, J. Fred May, a brother, wrote to Lincoln in behalf of Henry May, stating that he had been placed in a casemate with thirty-two other political prisoners with their beds crowded against each other. They were made to put out the tallow candles at 9 P. M., and were locked up at 6 P. M. Henry May's only crime, said his brother, was that "while endeavoring to keep the peace in his own State at all times and on all occasions he had been opposed to the policy of your Administration in regard to the unhappy difficulties in which our country is now involved." Fred May stated that Henry's health was giving way, and enclosed a doctor's certificate showing that for six years he had suffered a lung infection. Two brothers had died during the past years from consumption, one was then dying, and unless Henry May was given fresh air and exercise, he would soon follow. No doubt this plea contributed to his release on December 2.[96]

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[95] *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 790-801. A detailed account of May's arrest, imprisonment, and release is given. The letters and papers found on him at the time of arrest are also printed here.
[96] *Official Records*, Series 2, II, 790-801.

The special session of Congress had been called merely to approve the acts of the President and to make provisions for prosecuting the war. Except for May, the other representatives from Maryland, without desire to do otherwise, confined themselves to the main business before the House. Their resolutions and the few speeches they made indicated that they would support the administration in its major policies. And they represented Maryland opinion at the time.

Meanwhile, Maryland's senators were active in the other house of Congress. Senator Pearce was a member of the powerful Finance Committee and chairman of the Library Committee, while Senator Kennedy was a member of three Committees—Naval Affairs, the District of Columbia, and Public Buildings and Grounds.[97] Pearce and Kennedy both participated freely in the debates.

Senator Kennedy spoke on the joint resolution of Congress approving and confirming certain acts of the President in suppressing the insurrection and rebellion.[98] He declared that he had hoped to refrain from any " factious opposition to the course of legislation," but he could not approve of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. He saw no necessity for it because Maryland was controlled satisfactorily by its civil authorities. Kennedy said that Governor Hicks and the State's representatives in Congress, elected by a majority of 20,000 votes out of a total 70,000 vote, could suppress any insurrectionary movements in the State without the aid of the United States military. Kennedy also opposed an increase in the standing army. He said it lay outside the President's power to do so. He would support the administration in all " legal and constitutional measures for the reconstruction of the Union," but he opposed coercion when the administration employed it on the plea " of necessity or the extraordinary exigencies of the times." [99] Kennedy rhetorically asked whether any Senator could justify the suspension of the writ of

[97] *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., p. 17.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 40. This resolution approved: (1) Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops; (2) his blockade of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; (3) his proclamation blockading North Carolina and Virginia; (4) his authorization of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus between the District of Columbia and Philadelphia; and, (5) his proclamation calling to service 42,034 volunteers for the standing army.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

habeas corpus. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, answered that the April 10th riots justified it in Maryland. "There is no spot on this continent," he said, "none whatever, where there has been blacker traitors than in and about the city of Baltimore—men ready for murder, for any crime—men who were organizing a rebellion in that city, secreting arms that have since been discovered and taken from the men who have been arrested." [100]

Kennedy hardly expected such a blast but Wilson's charge was not surprising considering Baltimore's attack on the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment. Kennedy admitted that dangerous and secret organizations had existed in Baltimore, and lamented the attack upon the troops, but asserted that the police and city government of Baltimore had resisted and suppressed the riots and protected the soldiers. Brown and Kane, despite their Southern views to the contrary, had performed their duty at the risk of their lives. Kennedy was "politically opposed" to Kane, but he demanded justice for his stand that day. Kennedy insisted, however, that he was not in the Senate to "vindicate the secession wing of the State," but he desired to place the facts before the Senate. Of the eight thousand arms said to have been seized in Baltimore, the returns, found in the *Baltimore Clipper*, a paper "more fully sustaining the Administration than any other in Baltimore," showed that the whole number of arms was 321, including many worthless arms of all sorts.[101] He assured the Senate that this was the "true history of all the sedition and unlawful movement that has caused the military occupation of Baltimore." He expected "extreme political partisans" to deny it and to seek to impugn his motives. Kennedy did not believe that "the armed secession fighting force of Maryland is five thousand men." [102]

On July 17 Senator Pearce presented the memorial of the Baltimore Police Commissioners, in which they claimed that they had been loyal to their duty and begged Congress to interpose in their behalf.[103] Pearce knew the commissioners personally and believed

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[101] *Ibid.*, p. 44. Kennedy added: "Sixty-five of these were pistols that were taken from a mob in former days in a contest between the Governor of Maryland [Thomas Watkins Ligon] and Mayor Thomas Swan of the City of Baltimore."
[102] *Ibid.*
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

them to be " men of the very highest integrity, personally and politically," and not less " faithful to the Constitution of the United States than they are to the government of their own State and to the duties of office which they have assumed under the authority of the State of Maryland." They had done nothing to make them liable in " a court of common judicature, and therefore nothing which can authorize their military arrest and detention, and the humiliation to the State of Maryland of the superseding by military power, of the civil authorities of the State." The memorial was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Pearce, on July 22, objected to the bill that would confiscate all property, including slaves, used by the rebels in their insurrection. He feared that slaves everywhere, whether used to aid and abet the rebellion or not, would be confiscated.[104] Actually, he thought the bill could be enforced but would cause additional opposition in the Border states. He said that in such a time statesmen should observe all possible toleration, conciliation, and liberality, and look not merely at the events of the day but at those of the future, " upon which the fate of the country, for weal or for woe, may depend for a century." This measure would inflame suspicions and hatred.

Pearce was in constant touch with leaders of Maryland. Severn Teackle Wallis sent information on the arrest of the Police Commissioners and claimed that when he, in company with Mayor Brown and others, visited Lincoln on April 21, the President reiterated his conviction that the " authorities in Baltimore had acted with perfect ' loyalty,' and that the popular excitement there was an unfortunate fact, which they were not responsible for and could not control." [105] On July 25, Judge Richard Bennett Carmichael, a fellow Eastern Shoreman, addressed Pearce on the same subject.[106] Carmichael quoted from a letter he had received from ex-President Franklin Pierce, which if made public at the time, " would have been regarded at the North as proof of Copperheadism." [107] " For God's sake," wrote Carmichael, " do without

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[105] Bernard C. Steiner, " James Alfred Pearce," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIX (1924), 24-26.

[106] Carmichael served in Congress from 1833 to 1835. In 1861 he was Chief Judge of the Circuit Court comprising Talbot, Kent, and Queen Anne's counties.

[107] B. C. Steiner, " James Alfred Pearce," *loc. cit.*, p. 26. Pearce had written to Carmichael: " The late call for forty thousand troops for three years, without

a moment's delay, make your speech denouncing this unholy war, and the unconstitutional proceedings with which it has been gotten up, and conducted. . . . Do it for your friends, for your state, and for your Country, and for yourself." Carmichael closed his letter: "I pray you, gird up your loins, brace up your health to the tension of your heart, and let us feel that 'Richard is himself again.'" [108] Bernard C. Steiner says that, despite this pressure, Pearce's Union sympathies "were stronger than those of the writers, and he did not yield altogether to these importunities. He could not give a bold, clear summons to support the Union, as his former associate Reverdy Johnson did, but did not lose his loyalty to the Nation, in his devotion to the State." [109]

On July 24 Senator William Pitt Fessenden of Maine reported from the Finance Committee a bill providing for the payment of the military police in Baltimore. Pearce, a member of the Finance Committee, said he had not been consulted on the bill and objected to a consideration of it on that day. Fessenden said it was necessary to act at once or the police would have to be discharged, leaving the City of Baltimore without protection and necessarily subjecting it to military discipline. Pearce replied that he should have been consulted since the bill concerned his State and its chief city. Upon the offer of Fessenden to withdraw the bill, Pearce, with equal courtesy, permitted a vote to be taken. He was one of a little band of six Border statesmen who opposed it against a majority of twenty-three. Pearce, however, preferred military police in Baltimore to martial law. Kennedy voted against the bill because he had never "believed in the necessity of superseding the late police force." [110]

On July 26 Kennedy presented to the Senate the memorial of

warrant of law, is a usurpation than which scarcely anything could be more dangerous and alarming. This with the invasion of Virginia and the condition of things in Maryland and Missouri changes I concede the whole aspect of affairs. . . . I need not tell you, my friend, if this war means violence to Southern homes and Southern institutions—the subjugation or destruction of our own race in the seceded states—the consummation of the purposes of Northern abolitionism, by arms, on bloody fields, that I not only give it no countenance, but I do denounce it with all the energy of my soul, and I enter against it my most solemn and earnest protest."

[108] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[110] *Congressional Globe*, 1st Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 242-243. Others voting against the bill were Waldo Porter Johnson and Trusten Polk of Missouri; Lazarus Whitehead Powell of Kentucky, and Willard Saulsbury of Delaware.

the Mayor and Baltimore City Council, in which " They earnestly ask, as a matter of right, that their city may be governed according to the Constitution and the laws of the United States and of the State of Maryland," and that " citizens may be secure in their persons, homes, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, and that they may be not deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." [111] The Mayor and Council also requested that the " military render obedience to the civil authority; that our municipal laws be respected; that officers be released from imprisonment, and restored to the lawful exercise of their functions; and that the police force established by law be no longer impeded by armed force, to the injury of peace and order in that city." [112]

On July 30, Pearce delivered a speech in opposition to the joint resolution approving the President's acts.[113] He had been ill and advised by his physician to avoid the excitement of public speaking, but he felt that he must oppose the resolution. He said that he lamented the political condition of the country, and had " looked upon it as the most important interest of my State, of all others, that the Union be maintained in its integrity." Nothing could be more disastrous to Maryland than a dissolution of the Union. He described the majority feeling in Maryland as follows:

> Sir if there had been no cherished recollections of the glories of the past, of that Glorious Revolution, in which we, small in population and limited in territorial extent, as we were, had borne a not inglorious part; if there had been no attachment to that flag, which we had so long been proud to hail as the common standard of the country; still our interests were such as bound us, inevitably, to the cause of the Union. We did not believe in the right of peaceful constitutional secession. We saw no mode of separation from the Union other than revolution and we were not sensible to any grievances so intolerable as to absolve us from our allegiance, and require us to make, or justify in making a revolution, with all its uncertainties and dangers, and the probable or possible consequences, involving not merely our future relations, but our peace, security, prosperity, and happiness for all time. I have not changed a jot of these opinions and feelings from that day to this and it is the prevailing sentiment in my State now. . . .

[111] *Ibid.*, p. 275. The memorial was referred to the Judiciary Committee.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 332-335.

But Pearce was opposed to the use of unconstitutional means to maintain the Union. He denounced the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, saying it would do more harm than good. Why, he asked, should Maryland be placed under such military control when her loyalty was not to be questioned? The best proof of her loyalty was " the remarkable quiet *now*, under all illegal and oppressive practises." Whatever disloyalty there might be grew out of the abuses practised by the Government—the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus—and " these unnecessary, sometimes absurd and always irritating domiciliary visits and searches, which yield no public benefit whatever." Pearce regretted the April 19th episode, admitted it was illegal, and said it was as " prejudicial to the State of Maryland as it was injurious to the government of the United States." But he denied the April riots justified the series of outrages committed on Maryland by the Federal government. Pearce protested against the arrest of the police commissioners, saying that " this police organization is a part of the state system. With as much authority might this government undertake to suppress the Legislature, and put its members in military jails." Actually, as already pointed out, the government was thinking seriously of this latter action. Pearce said he would vote against the joint resolution sustaining the President's acts because, if such acts were legal, it was unnecessary for Congress to approve them, and if " they were illegal and unconstitutional, no power of this Congress can give them any authority whatever." [114]

Pearce's speech did not meet a favorable reception at the hands of the *Baltimore Clipper*.[115] This newspaper declared that Maryland was represented in the Senate just as the Fourth District was in the House by Henry May. It charged that Pearce and Kennedy were ready on all occasions to throw difficulties in the way of the government then struggling for its very existence. The *Clipper* charged that what Pearce said in the Senate was a reproach against the government. It accused Pearce of knowingly making false statements, and of uttering sentiments that were " a libel upon his State." He should resign in favor of some better man.

[114] *Ibid.*
[115] See particularly the issue of August 1, 1861.

Kennedy voted on August 2 against the revenue bill by which tariff duties were increased, a direct tax of $20,000,000 apportioned to all the states and territories, and an income tax levied. He said that since " gentlemen are explaining their votes, and many have put their votes on the ground that this is a war measure, and have said that they will vote for it only as a war measure," he felt himself constrained to say that " as a war measure," he would vote against it. " I am sure my State does not desire war, believing that war is an end of this Union." [116]

The Maryland legislature on June 22 adopted resolutions protesting against the arrest of Ross Winans, State legislator from Baltimore, and others suspected of conspiracy against the government, and requested that these resolutions be presented to the United States Senate. This was done by Kennedy on August 2.[117] They denounced the actions of the national government in such unmeasured terms that when Kennedy asked that they be printed, Senator Morton S. Wilkinson of Minnesota protested, declaring that the resolutions were " an insult to this government." Lot M. Merrill, senator for Maine, objected because they were disrespectful to the President of the United States, and had not been approved and sanctioned by Governor Hicks. Therefore " they do not speak the language of the Legislature," but actually of a " convention." [118] A long discussion followed in which Senators John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and James A. Bayard of Delaware, argued that the resolutions should be heard regardless of their nature. Merrill countered that the resolutions were not only unauthenticated but were also an assault upon the very acts of the executive that the Senate had approved in a joint resolution. Senator Kennedy, although not feeling " disposed to vindicate the whole course of the Legislature of Maryland," stated that he could vouch for the " authenticity

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 400. The vote was 34 yeas, 8 nays.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 417. The resolutions read in part: " *Be it resolved*, That the Senate and House of Delegates of Maryland, in the name of and on behalf of the good people of the State, do accordingly register this their earnest and unqualified protest against the oppressive and tyrannical assertion and exercise of military jurisdiction, within the limits of Maryland, over the persons and property of her citizens, by the government of the United States, and do solemnly declare the same to be subversive of the most sacred guarantee of the Constitution, and in flagrant violation of the fundamental and most cherished principle of American free government."

[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 418-419.

and entire accuracy" of the resolutions in question. Pearce explained that the Governor of Maryland had no veto power and his signature was, therefore, not needed to make resolutions or laws authentic. Pearce denied that the resolutions were insulting either to the President or the Senate of the United States. He hoped that senatorial courtesy, "which has almost ripened into a right," would permit the resolution to be printed since they came from a state legislature. This courtesy was finally granted.[119]

Pearce and Kennedy did not speak after this in the special session. The Congress, which adjourned on August 4, passed some important measures. Among others it authorized the acceptance of the services of 500,000 volunteers and a loan of $250,000,000.[120] It increased tariff duties, levied a direct tax of $20,000,000 to be apportioned among all the states and territories, and imposed an income tax. But the Maryland senators were singularly quiet on all these measures.

Two schools of thought were represented by the Maryland delegation in the special session. The first was led by Thomas in the House and Kennedy in the Senate; the other found its leadership under Henry May in the House and Pearce in the Senate. Thomas and Kennedy opposed the policies of the administration, but they believed that above all the Union must be preserved. They deplored the subjugation of Maryland but preferred it to the destruction of the Union. May and Pearce, however, while claiming undying loyalty to the Union, placed the Union second to the constitutional rights of Maryland and protested vigorously against every measure of oppression directed at the State. May was so outspoken that an effort was made to expel him from the House. Which group best represented Maryland public opinion, it is impossible to say, since that opinion was never consistent enough to be gauged accurately. But in the long run, it is believed that Kennedy and Thomas, rather than May and Pearce, more truly represented Maryland.

(*To be continued*).

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 419.
[120] *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 4-7.

AN OXFORD CONVICT IN MARYLAND

By Philip Babcock Gove

Sometime in the 1760's David Benfield of Oxford, while presumably engaged in the practice of physic and surgery, committed the misdemeanor of stealing some of His Majesty's deer from Wychwood Forest and, being found guilty, was confined in Oxford Castle. Apparently he was spared the possible punishments of being whipped and stood in the pillory.[1] After his release he had the misfortune once again to fall into the hands of the law, this time on a much more serious charge. On June 13, 1770, he was committed to Bocardo, the Oxford city gaol, "charged on Suspicion of stealing forty Pounds in Money and a Silver Tankard" from the Crooked Billet, a house kept in St. Thomas's Parish by Richard Crawford.[2] In prison he had several months in which to enlarge the circle of his criminal acquaintance—he was not the kind to languish—until his trial came on at the Oxford General Quarter Sessions on October 4. His sentence was transportation for seven years.[3]

Benfield spent the approaching winter in gaol and in April, 1771, petitioned unsuccessfully to Justice Nares for clemency.[4] Shortly afterwards he was officially sent upon his travels to Maryland, where, according to a contemporary Marylander, he would be expected either to run away to the north, if he continued wicked, and be accepted as an honest man or to serve his time with good behavior and become a useful Marylander.[5] Instead of disappearing completely from history, he labored over one semi-literate effusion, compounded of a nostalgic curiosity about his old friends in Oxford and an urge to make them envious of his prowess in surmounting his hardships.

[1] See Patrick Colquhoun, *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* (London, 1797), p. 288.

[2] *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 894, June 16, 1770.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 910, October 6, 1770.

[4] *Calendar of Home Office Papers 1770-1772*, doc. 991. The contents of Benfield's letter are not given in the abstract, but it is obvious from common practice and from other similar documents preserved in the P. R. O. that his communication, officially recorded, must have been a petition for clemency.

[5] See the *Maryland Gazette*, July, 1767, as quoted in Matthew P. Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (N. Y., 1929), p. 216.

On July 20, 1772, after about a year of his new life on My Lady's Manor in Baltimore County, he sat down to write an informative and remarkable letter—perhaps the only one of its kind in American letters—to his former gaoler, David Whitton, keeper of Bocardo. Fortunately this letter was printed *literatim* in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 1023, for December 5, 1772 (after Whitton's death), from which I reproduce it here, with one important change: Benfield's letter contains no punctuation from beginning to end (except for a dash at the end of the first paragraph); for easier reading I have pointed the letter, with the result that a few passages allow slight but insignificant differences in meaning.

To Mr David Whitton at Bocardo
in the City of Oxford
with Speed *England*

Boltimore County Meleadys Manner, Mereland

Mr Whitton

This Coms to a quaint you of my well fare and the good and Bad fortin I have had since I have been in a mericka. I have had very Great Success in My undertakings. I have folloed nothing but physick & Surgorey since I have been heare. I have Don many Good and famus Cures in old wounds: I have Cured a boy that have been Lame for this 10 years and have and Cured many other that have been lame for 2 or 3 years & have ben under all the Surgions in this Cuntrey; I have Cut 3 Cancers out of the face and have cured them all; one was 13 years Standing, a nother of 3, a nother but 2 months; I was but 5 weeks a Curing the worst; I had the boy 6 months Bording with me. I have had verey Bad Lock. I had a fine hors Died that Cost me 20 pounds; he was a fine horse 15 hands and a half high but 7 years old—past [paced] trotted and Galoped as easy as posoble. I had him but 2 months and 3 Days. I bought a nother in 2 Days after that Cost me 12 pound; I Rid him but 15 Miles and he was taken Sick and was Sick 10 Days and hee Died & I fretted my Self almost to Death but thank god I have bot a nother but I have bisness a nuf for 2 which I hope to Get verey Soon. I by Drugs verey Deare; if I had but a frind that old send me a Chest of Drugs I Should be made for ever but I Dont now any frind that old be so Good al tho it is in my power to pay them as Soon as the Ship Returns. all my old a quaintans Livs neare me but are all Sarvants which I Dont Ceep cumpany with, for I Keep the best Cumpany as neare as I Can. this yeare I Shall yearn upwards of a hundred pound. I Gives 20 pounds for my bord & horses hay and Grass; I find him Corn my self—

Let it be fur or neare I allways Charge a Shilling a mile for My Visit; I have Sent for 40 Miles but 20 often. Sir I will Give you a Little

a Count of the Cuntrey: the Cuntrey is fine and plesant; Cyder verey plenty; peaches and Chereys as plenty as the haw bushis be in oxfordshire; partreg and fesants as plenty as the Sparrows be in oxfordshire; all sorts of game are verey plenty; Likewise fish flesh and foul; Chickins you may by for 2d purpees, beef for 3 halfpence & mutton the same. I lives a bout 25 miles from boltimore sound and bout 18 from Susquana where Mr Brickland [6] Told me his brother philip Lived. I have inquired all as I cold and I heare he went out Captin to the islands to catch negors and had bot Sum and Som they had got without bying & had got a great many Confined in Iorns in the Ship and the negors Roas and got a board and Cruely used all the Ships Cru after whipped them all most to Death then hanged them and burnt the Ship after releasing all the Slaves. these negors will fetch 70 or eighty pounds a pees in this Cuntrey. the Ship belonged to one Iacob Giles, was Cold the Elizabth. pleast to Give My Kind Love to all your brothers and Sisters and My old frind Mr Handrell and Mrs Bew and Mr Wisdoms and Mr Mears and Mr Rollins Mrs Gadney and Mrs huse and thair naibor if you pleas.[7] that for Sworn Blackgard that Sore [saw] hannah Cripses pillabor which was Marked H C——he Swore the Each was em [8]—hee thoat to punish Me but was mistaken, for I Lives Like a Ientleman and hee Like a blackgard. We have had a fine harvest as fine wheat as Can grow; it is sold for 4s & six pence pur Bushell. I shall be verey Glad to heare from you to Let me Now how My naibors dos. pleast to Direct for Doctor David Benfield to be Left at Mr Jon Boyds Druggest in Boltimore Mereland.[9] I Conclude

[6] Benfield's use of "Mr" points to William Brickland, a schoolmaster on Cat Street, Oxford. There was at the time in Oxford a Thomas Brickland, cook, but he would not have been called "Mr." My identifications in the following notes have been worked out from various maps and materials in the Bodleian, principally with the indispensable aid of H. E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford in 1772* (London, 1912).

[7] Most of these persons were neighbors, not far from Carfax, in St. Thomas's Parish in the southwest ward. A Mrs. Benfield occupied a house on the south side of Butcher Row (now Queen Street). A dozen houses away lived Mrs. Richard Bew, wife of a mercer; two doors on the other side lived Mrs. Hughes. Mrs. Gadney lived in St. Ebb's Lane, near James Meers, leather dresser (I find no Mears). Probably "Rollins" refers to Richard Rawlins, man-midwife and apothecary, who lived on the opposite side of Butcher Row, not far from Mrs. Benfield. There were in Oxford at the time other families of Meers, Gadney, Hughes, and Rawlins, but the locations and associations point to the persons above. "Wisdoms" may have been either William or Charles Wisdom, both keepers of the Castle gaol.

[8] The wife of Richard Crawford, against whom Benfield committed the theft, was named Mary; therefore her initials, M. C., would serve to identify part of the loot. Since Benfield admitted possessing a pillow case with the initials of Hannah Cripse, she must have been a friend of his and may have been the Diana Cripps who, for stealing a silver spoon from St. Mary Hall, was sentenced at the Oxford Assizes on July 13, 1774, to transportation for seven years (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 1107, July 16, 1774).

[9] Dr. John Boyd had established a drug store in Baltimore in May, 1767, and is recorded as a practising physician there at the time of Benfield's letter. See John R. Quinan, *Medical Annals of Baltimore from 1608-1880* (Baltimore, 1884), p. 13,

with My Kind Love to you and your wife and my Little Bedflows Iane peggy and nanney and am your Ever wellwisher to Comand
ye 20 Iuly 1772 D Benfield

hare Brown[10] is well & Charls bossom[11] have got 2 Children and wife. Iohn brown have been married but his wife is Dead; he was Married to a Dutchwomman ho have Left him a pees of Land. Tobacco sels in this Cuntrey for 15 Shilings pur hundred. if I had a frind I Cold Ship Tobacco home but as I hant I Cant makeany thing of marchandice. I have 3 borders at 25 Shilings pur month all with verey bad wounds. if Lee Elkington had Com a Long with me hee Might a made him Self for Ever, for heare is Rabits as plenty as they bee in a warren and [we] make No youse of the Skins a tall and hats are verey dear.[12] pleast to Give My Love to Molly Carter & Mrs Bent and Carpenter.[13] I Shall be might

and Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), pp. 49, 58, and 59. Contrary to the evidence of the letter, Benfield did not distinguish himself sufficiently to receive mention in either Quinan or Griffith.

[10] At the Oxford General Quarter Sessions on October 5, 1769, one Henry Brown, "indicted for stealing six Fowls . . . was found guilty of stealing one of them, and ordered to be transported for seven Years" (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 858, October 7, 1769). He remained in the Oxford gaol at least until the following spring, for in March he "found Means of escaping in the Absence of the Gaoler, by forcing the Keys from his Daughter . . . [but] was retaken near Wadham College, and is since heavier laden with Irons (*ibid.*, No. 880, March 10, 1770).

[11] A William Bossom, bedmaker's servant, having stolen six silver tablespoons from a gentleman commoner of Queen's College, was ordered to be transported for seven years on July 13, 1768 (*ibid.*, No. 794, July 16, 1768). There were in Oxford two Charles Bossoms, one of whom, a bargeman, lived in St. Thomas's Parish, but I cannot find that he was ever transported. Benfield's reference is more likely to Charles Bossometh, who was sentenced at Oxford on April 18, 1763, to seven years transportation for felony (*Calendar of Home Office Papers 1760-1765*, doc. 1156).

[12] Lee Elkington, an Oxford hatter, was committed to Bocardo on October 29, 1770, "charged with stealing 25 Yards of fine Irish Linnen, out of the Shop of Mr. Joseph Fortnom, of this Place, Mercer and Haberdasher" (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 914, November 3, 1770) and at the General Quarter Sessions on January 17, 1771, was sentenced to transportation for seven years (*ibid.*, No. 925, January 19, 1771). By Justice Nares he was "recommended to mercy on account of his youth" and pardoned in February to serve on a ship of war (*Calendar of Home Office Papers 1770-1772*, docs. 574 and 993). He enlisted with the East India Company, and orders were given "for his being immediately removed to Portsmouth to be put on board" (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 935, March 30, 1771).

[13] Of the several families of Carter possible, two are likely to have included Molly: Henry Carter, joiner, who lived on the south side of Butcher Row, not far from Mrs. Benfield, and William Carter, laboring man of St. Thomas's Parish and father of triplets (who all died); "however the poor Man has still six Children now living" (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 871, January 6, 1770). A Mrs. Bent lived in Ship Lane, but Benfield more likely refers to the wife of a druggist named Bennet, who lived on the south side of Butcher Row between Carfax and Mrs. Bew's house. There were also several families of Carpenter, one of whom lived on the north side of Butcher Row next to the entrance to the Castle.

Glad to heare what is beCom of Lee. I beg of all Love in the world to Right to me to Let me now how all my old frinds dos

I Clude with My harty prayers for you and am your D Benfield

Rum is 2 shillings pur gallon

pray Dont fail Righting; pray excuse my Scraul, for I am in hast. Luce bennet [14] is a Live and well as I heve heard but I hant seen She. Mike is well; hee is Ceep by the County

How successful David Benfield's practice in physic and surgery grew, how greatly his fortunes prospered, and whether he was converted from an involuntary colonist into a citizen of the Republic I have been unable to discover. Even his status at the time he was giving his Oxford friends a glimpse of life on a pre-Revolutionary Maryland manor is not wholly certain, but it is clear that for his crime he was not suffering any serious penalty besides banishment. If large numbers of transported felons could be sold as schoolmasters,[15] then it is possible that a professing surgeon would be no less desirable and could work out his terms in the service of a manor. The landlord might well have been ready to pay £15 or £20—the value of a skilled male—for a resident surgeon and then have allowed him to exercise his skill at large.[16] But this does not seem a wholly satisfactory supposition, for the letter, in so far as it can be believed, purports clearly that Benfield was completely on his own.

A simpler solution is more tenable. William Eddis stated that

> Persons convicted of felony, and in consequence transported to this continent, if they are able to pay the expense of passage, are free to pursue their fortune agreeably to their inclinations or abilities. Few, however, have means to avail themselves of this advantage.[17]

C. M. Andrews cites the example of a barrister, transported for stealing, who had money to pay for his passage, was treated with respect aboard, and undoubtedly was set at liberty upon landing.[18]

[14] At the Oxford Assizes on March 7, 1769, Lucy Bennett, daughter of the butler of Worcester College, was "ordered to be transported for Seven Years, for stealing a Silver Spoon, Part of a large Quantity of Plate lately stolen from that College" (*ibid.*, No. 828, March 11, 1769).

[15] See Jonathan Boucher, *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* (London, 1797), Discourse IV (1773), pp. 183-84.

[16] See "Transportation of Felons to the Colonies," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVII (1932), 263-74, and Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways: a Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges* (New Haven [etc.], 1921), pp. 186 and 190.

[17] *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive* (London, 1792), p. 66.

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

The captain of a ship transporting felons expected in 1771 to receive from the British government about £5 and a property right in the felon and estimated the expense of passage to average about £9; he would then expect to sell his property right for somewhere between £10 and £20.[19] From a felon who wished to settle all his obligations to the law by paying the captain, the latter would expect something more than he could legitimately earn because of the secrecy and risk involved—he was sometimes required under penalty to declare all felons at the port of landing. In any event Benfield would not have needed more than £25 with which to buy his complete freedom in the colonies. Although this would have been a considerable sum for most felons convicted of grand larceny, it was not exorbitant, and Benfield was apparently able to raise it.

Even if this interpretation of the freedom implicit in the letter be not tenable, it is evident that Benfield had experienced a reformation that would have made him in some degree a living example of Sir John Fielding's justification of the transportation system. Within a few months of the time that Benfield dispatched his letter from Maryland to Oxford, Sir John reported to the Earl of Suffolk on " the wisest, because most humane and effectual, punishment we have, viz., transportation,—which immediately removes the evil, separates the individual from his abandoned connexions, and gives him a fresh opportunity of being a useful member of society, thereby answering the great ends of punishment, viz., example, humanity, and reformation." [20] Had David Benfield seen this statement—and understood it, he would not have realized any irony in applying it to himself.

New York University.

[19] See *Maryland Historical Magazine, loc. cit.*; Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 72; and Eugene I. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820* (Baltimore, 1904), p. 99.
[20] *Calendar of Home Office Papers 1773-1775*, p. 11, dated February 1, 1773.

THE LEES OF BLENHEIM

By Ethel Roby Hayden

"Richard Lee of Blenheim . . . the last President of Maryland" reads the legend on a flat gravestone in Charles County, some few hundred yards from where the new Potomac bridge takes off from the Maryland shore. The place is known now as Laidler's Ferry Farm and a marker, put up in 1934, commemorates the Civil War history of the Ferry rather than the Blenheim of an earlier day; but the plantation's heyday was in the lifetime of the family of the Hon. Richard Lee, years which spanned the eighteenth century and ended about 1806.

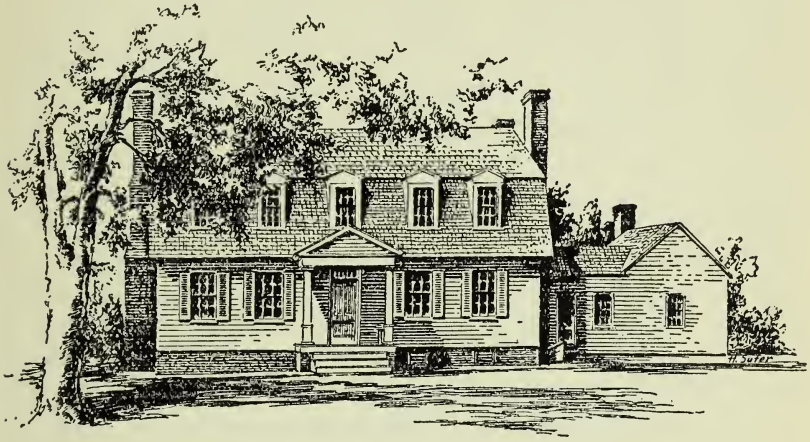
Richard Lee of Blenheim of the fourth generation in America of the Stratford Lees, descended from the first Col. Richard Lee of Virginia through his son Richard, and Philip, third son of the second Richard, who moved to Maryland about 1700 and was the first of this line of the Maryland Lees. Philip married Sarah Brooke, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Brooke of "Brookfield," Prince George's County, Maryland, and his wife Barbara Addison. Richard was the first son of this marriage. Sarah Brooke Lee died in 1724 and Philip then married Elizabeth, widow of Henry Sewell. Richard of Blenheim married Grace Ashton, youngest daughter of Col. Henry Ashton and his wife, Elizabeth Hardridge of Westmoreland County, Virginia. The six children born to them were Richard, junior, Philip Thomas, Sarah Lettice, Hannah, Alice and Eleanor Ann.

Philip Lee's will recorded in Charles County in 1734, gives to his son Richard several tracts of land in Cedar Point, Maryland, two of which, Lee's Purchase and Stump Dale, had been previously described in the will of Philip's father, Richard of Virginia. These with several other tracts were assembled by Philip and named Blenheim for the little Dutch town so popular with the English after 1705. Philip says in his will that he had built there a fine bake house and mill "in order to carry on the Baking and Grist trade for the support of my children," trades which must have languished after his death for there is no further record of them and Richard's days were busy in other ways than grinding and baking.

The plantation landing was a port of entry for the north Potomac. All shipping from that section of the county was graded, weighed and registered there and Squire Lee was a duly commissioned naval officer. There also was the wharf of the ferry which operated between the Lee farm in Maryland and Col. Rice Hooe's place in Westmoreland County, Virginia. As early as 1725 this Ferry was the main link of travel between lower tidewater and the north. At the Ferry landing Mrs. Laidler kept a tavern where, writes the diarist Philip Vickers Fithian, " the food was good and the guests were waited on by a smart looking girl just from London "; but it was Squire Lee's house that was the scene of continuous entertainment of the travelers between Virginia and the northern colonies. Many letters and diaries mention the Lee hospitality. Richard Henry Lee, cousin of Richard of Blenheim wrote Henry Laurens, starting home from Philadelphia, that he would be hospitably received at Squire Lee's; and Fithian, riding horseback home to New Jersey from Nomini Hall, Virginia, records his landing at the Ferry and a gay evening at Squire Lee's house with young Mr. Lee, Miss Lee, Miss Booth and Miss Washington. " Toasts were given " he writes, " and I gave Miss Nancy Galoway."

Two fine houses were built by the Lees on the Blenheim plantation. The brick house on the hill near the present post office of Newberg, has been gone almost half a century, and the brick end walls of the hipped roof house by the river are the last visible remnants of the dignity that was Blenheim. Philip, Sr. may have built both houses; the river house was probably the earlier of the two. This was the house in which Richard and his family lived and died. John Rowzée Peyton, writing of the homes along the Potomac, in December, 1774, mentions Mr. Lee's house on the river, and as Richard was married then and Philip, Sr. had been dead two years the river house must have been Richard's home from the first years of his marriage. Old residents speak of the hill house as the old Blenheim house and the river house as Laidler's, but this is because the hill part of the plantation remained in possession of the Lee family long after the Laidlers had bought that on the river and given their name to the ferry. The hill house and the land around it belonged to Lee heirs late into the nineteenth century. About seventy years ago a great granddaughter of Philip Thomas (living in England) signed the

deed for that tract which ended the Lee tenure of Blenheim. The house on the hill contained great quantities of fine brick, and much of it is said to be still doing service in neighboring chimneys. The style and greater pretensions of this house help to set the date later in the eighteenth century when money and materials were easier to come by than they were in the days of the Dutch house on the Potomac.



THE LEE HOUSE, LATER LAIDLER'S FERRY HOUSE. NOW A RUIN.

From an old photograph in collection of Mr. J. Alexis Shriver.

But under the hipped roof by the river life flowed gracious and gay. Much visiting went on among the plantations. The great coach was often seen between the Potomac and the Wicomoco, rolling merrily along the Three Notch road with its thirteen gates, to Port Tobacco, or taking the family down to Society Hill to see the Thorntons or farther down the river to the Lewis's. Small boats brought the Lee cousins across the river: the Carters, the Washingtons, the Turbervilles from Pecatone, to mingle with frequent guests from among the Ferry travelers. In 1745 Squire Lee became a member of the Provincial Council and from that time until the last days of the colony his name interlaces the public documents of Maryland. For the young Lees the social horizon was then broadened to include the more sophisticated life of Annapolis, with its theatre, its races and its smart clubs. About 1753 Philip Thomas was sent to England where he entered Eaton.

He was there under the celebrated Dr. Barnard and in due time he entered Christ's College, Cambridge. He was admitted at Middle Temple Bar February 24, 1756. In England he married his distant cousin, Sarah Russel, and when he brought her home to America they established themselves with the family at Blenheim where their five children were born and grew up.

On September 30, 1759, Sarah Lettice, the eldest daughter, married Philip Richard Fendall of Charles County. She died within a year after her marriage but Philip Fendall remained always the " trusty friend " and " esteemed son-in-law," as later documents show. On Sunday afternoon December 5, 1762, Hannah Lee, the second daughter, was married at Blenheim to George Plater of St. Mary's County. Ten months later the *Maryland Gazette* announced her death. George Plater later married Elizabeth Rousby of Calvert County and was governor of Maryland when he died in 1792. Alice, the third daughter, like her two older sisters had but one year of marriage. She married John Weems, " late of Delaware," in April, 1788, and died July 15, 1789, at " Weems Forest " in Calvert County. Alice was forty years old when she married John Weems so she and Eleanor Ann spent many years together at Blenheim after the two older girls were dead. In his *Lee of Virginia*, Edmund Jennings Lee throws some light on Alice's sprightly personality by quoting from her letter written to William Lee of London, dated March 27, 1772:

So you threaten me if I prove deficient in the deference I owe you as a married man, with the power you have of forwarding or retarding my success in the Matrimonial Way. This would be a tremendous threat were I as fond of matrimony as my young Mistress, as you call her, but happily I am a little more than twelve years old and not so eager to tye a knot which Death alone can Dissolve. And yet I pretend not to ridicule the holy sacred institution, but have all due reverence for that and the worthy people who have entered into the Society from good and generous motives. It is only for them who choose to be married at all events that I think deserve raillery. I was in Virginia when your letter came. Your friends there are well but I never saw Westmoreland so dull. I was at Squire Lee's. He is the veriest Tramontane in nature. If he ever gets married and his wife civilizes him, she deserves to be canonized. The Annapolis races commence the sixth of October, and the company is expected to be numerous and splendid. The American Company of Players are there and said to be amazingly improved. I should like to see them as I think Theatrical Entertainments a rational amusement; But I shall not be there. Indeed I lead rather a recluse life, my greatest pleasure results from

my correspondents of my friends in different parts of the world and I am very assiduous to cultivate this kind of amusement. I know your ability will always provide you with materials to give me that pleasure and I hope your inclinations will coincide to. Mrs. Anna Lee has not yet exhibited any railling accusations against you. I thank your Mrs. Lee for her amicable wishes and desire you to greet her and Dr. Lee with my friendly salutations.

The Squire Lee mentioned was her father's cousin, Richard, second son of Henry Lee and Mary Bland Lee, born at Lee Hall in Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1726. He was known among his contemporaries as the " Squire " and was always so named in their letters. When he was sixty years old he married his first cousin, Sally Poythress.

While Alice was writing her letters the younger sister was also busy with the pen, for Eleanor Ann was a poet and her verse makes a slight but interesting record of her life and time. Sonnets to the memory of Sarah Lettice and Hannah, some mournful lines to a former suitor in India, verses to John Thomas, Esq., of West River, on presenting him with a watch ribbon on which she had worked the motto *Paix et L'Amour*, and other rhymed comments on people and places, with verses to herself by John Thomas and others, round out a demure little story caught in the pages of a book published by Frederick Green of Annapolis in 1808, two years after Eleanor Ann was dead.

The book in two volumes is entitled *EXTRACTS In Prose And Verse, Together with a collection of ORIGINAL POETRY, Never Before Published, By Citizens of Maryland.* Some collectors attribute it to Elizabeth Chase of Annapolis, but there is evidence that Eleanor Ann compiled the collection of poetry and that Benjamin Contee, who married her niece, Sarah Russell Lee, added the prose extracts and had it printed after she died. Elizabeth Chase died as late as 1840 and while the years do not preclude a friendship between the two ladies, it is unlikely that they would have been intimates, and a careful reading of both volumes makes certain that the compiler was very close to the Lee family. The case for Benjamin Contee is strengthened by the fact that he was entrusted with Miss Lee's personal affairs and that his qualifications would indicate him as co-author of the book. Mr. Contee had traveled much in England and would have been familiar with the various obscure English writers, mostly clergymen, who are included. Mr.

Contee was a clergyman himself. Having been a member of Congress for four years, he was ordained to the priesthood of the Episcopal church in 1803 and was within a few votes of election as bishop of the diocese in 1816. He was Chief Judge of the Orphans Court of Charles County when he died. In any case Eleanor Ann's prim little verses are still alive to give us a picture that would otherwise have vanished.

As the century moved on to its last quarter, Squire Lee's presence was more demanded at Annapolis while at home Philip held the commission of the port and conducted its business. When Frederick Calvert sent to Maryland his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Eden, to be Governor of the colony, it was Richard Lee who became one of his chief advisers. Eden was only twenty-eight years old, he had to contend with a set of inflammable conditions and he lacked experience. It was Lee's seasoned sagacity that helped him to carry on as well as he did. As president of the Council Squire Lee became deputy governor while Eden was in England from May to November in 1774, and again two years later when the power of England in Maryland passed with the sailing of Sir Robert on the warship *Fowey.*

In 1767 Richard Jr., Squire Lee's eldest son, was sheriff of Charles County. He had built a private jail 24 feet long by 16 feet wide near his father's house where he kept the prisoners from the Nanjemoy district, instead of in the public jail at Port Tobacco. In 1769 Sheriff Lee was charged with abusing a prisoner and was fined forty pounds current money in the Charles County court. Philip Richard Fendall, his brother-in-law, " becomes pledge and security to pay the fine and the several fees due the officers and ministers of the court." But this did not satisfy the accusers and the charges were further stated at Annapolis before Governor Eden through an address of the House of Delegates:

> . . . we hope your Excellency will think us excusable if we feel and express some warmth of Resentment towards Mr. Lee, and under these Circumstances we cannot but think it a Justice due to the Public that the said Richard Lee junior should be removed from his Office of Sheriff of Charles County as being unworthy of and unfit for so important a Trust, and we do earnestly request that your Excellency will be pleased to remove him.
>
> ROBERT LLOYD, *Speaker*

Following this, reams of sordid evidence packed the records of

the Council proceedings. However, on May 9, 1770, the Council declared:

On the subject of the complaint against the Sheriff of Charles County it is the unanimous opinion of this Board that there are not sufficient Grounds arising from the Behavior of the said Sheriff to inflict further punishment on him by removing him from his office.

Soon after his retirement from the office of sheriff, Richard must have suffered a collapse, possibly of a mental character, for he is thereafter spoken of in family letters and documents as an invalid.

Philip died in November, 1778, and Squire Lee retiring from public life, settled down on the plantation. The household was still a large one. Philip's five children were growing up, and besides the elder Lees there were Alice, Eleanor Ann and probably Richard, Jr. In the decade that followed Alice married and died, at least two of Philip's daughters married, and Squire Lee and his wife both died. From notices in newspapers of the day we know that Squire Lee died on January 26, 1787, but the date is given on his tombstone as 1789. This must have been a mistake of the stone engraver, but the wonder is that the watchful eye of Eleanor Ann would let it pass. The inscription is:

RICHARD LEE of Blenheim

Died on the 26th of January, 1789, in the 81st Year of his Age. In the course of his life he filled with credit various civil Offices of high trust and was the last President of MARYLAND. But he possessed a [native?] merit and dignity superior to all his advantages and Honors: the scene of these is now closed and his remains lie here.

All, all on earth is shadow,
All beyond is substance,
How solid all where change shall be no more.

This stone is inscribed to his Memory by his ever Affectionate Daughter.
E. A. LEE

Alice Lee Weems' grave is there, the stone inscribed with a long eulogy " by her truly affectionate sister E. A. Lee." And Philip's only son:

Here lies entombed the last fond Hope of a Respectable and a Numerous and Once Extensive Family RUSSELL LEE, who after a short illness in Consequence of a kick from a horse Departed this Life on the 4th September, 1793. Aged 17 years and 27 Days. He was the only

surviving son of P. T. Lee, chief son of Richard Lee of Blenheim, deceased.

By E. A. Lee

Mrs. Lee's epitaph also is signed by Eleanor Ann—" her dutiful daughter E. A. Lee." Mrs. Lee died October 16, 1789, in her seventy-seventh year. Her personal inventory filed in the February, 1790, term of the Charles County Court lists 66 slaves by name and includes such interesting items as

1 old chariot, new lined and painted with harness for 4 horses, £50

A parcel of medicine £1

3 yards of white cotton wadding and 5¼ yards of coarse white calico £1-11-6

The list is a long one, covering seven pages and amounting to a total of 2,546 pounds, 19 shillings.

Still more eloquent is Eleanor Ann's will fifteen years later, dated October 19, 1805. Eleanor Ann died May 17, 1806. The will is a long intricate document covering nine pages in the will books of Charles County. In it she once more becomes the family historian with her pointed mention of individuals and the long list of bequests: Being of sound and " disposing mind " she first wants her flock of sheep and her black cattle sold to pay debts and, after disposing of her lands etc., she leaves to Sarah Russell Contee (Philip's daughter) " All my horses, oxen and hogs with six cows and six calves "; to great nephew, Philip Ashton, " my silver handle knives and forks, silver marrow spoons, silver cans and dessert spoons "; to other nieces, " my china ware, also my silver salts and shovels, silver spoons and soup spoons and mahogany poster bed which I bought of my honored father's estate; my carved black walnut bedstead, my toilet table and toilet cloth "—making up the equipage of country life. Sarah Russell Contee and her husband were requested to " extend their attention towards their afflicted uncle, my said brother [Richard] as far as his remote situation may admit." Richard lived to be a very old man, dying about 1834.

There was a Philip Richard Francis Lee who served as a captain in the Continental Army and was wounded at the Battle of Brandywine. In establishing a claim for bounties as late as 1845, it was proven that the heirs of this man were the grandchildren of Philip Thomas Lee. Because of this Edmund Jennings Lee thinks that Philip Richard Francis and Richard, eldest son of Richard of Blenheim, may have been the same man, but it is now

evident that they were not. Philip Richard Francis was from Virginia and living in Prince William County in 1774. It was from Virginia that the bounties were granted. These bounties were land warrants for 4000 acres issued on July 21, 1784, due for three years' service as a captain; again on October 1, 1798, 4000 acres " for services of the war," and November, 1845, other lands to Alice and Benjamin Contee, Eliza Lyson and Sarah E. Fendall as heirs of Captain P. R. F. Lee, for seven years' and eight months' service. That these men and women were also heirs of Squire Richard does not establish Captain Lee as his son, for Eleanor Ann was writing of her " poor afflicted brother " in the years when he would have been fighting, had he been the Virginia soldier. Even more proof is found in a letter published in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, from Josiah Hawkins of Port Tobacco, Charles County, Maryland, to Robert E. Lee, dated " Fair Fountain," August 1, 1866. It reads in part:

I am descended from the branch of the family which settled in Maryland. My mother was a Miss Clerklee, her father was named James Clerk and married Margaret Russell Lee, they for some reason or other combined their names and made it Clerklee. Richard Lee of Blenheim, my ancestor, who acted for a short time as Proprietary Governor of Maryland in 1772, Vice Robert Eden, had two sons Richard and Philip Thomas. Of what became of Richard I have no account, but Philip Thomas was the Father of Margaret Russell Lee, the mother of Caroline Ashton Clerklee, my mother.

Thus the recipients of the bounties would have been Mr. Hawkins' cousins and contemporaries, and it is unlikely that he would have had no knowledge of the man from whom they came.

Deep in a tangle of weeds and briars in a field nearer the old hill house is another graveyard. The lettering on some of the stones is quite erased by time but still decipherable are the graves of Ann AE Russell, A. C. Contee, Edmund H. Contee, Margaret Russell Clerklee, all with Latin inscriptions including Jacobus Clerkle, Londini Natibus, ÆTATIS SUÆ LXI. Could Eleanor Ann or Richard lie beneath one of these worn stones?

After Eleanor Ann died the house and land on the river were bought by the Laidlers and under their regime the ferry traffic flourished and the place became known by their name. So much history was made there during the Civil War that the earlier years were overshadowed and now, only a few decaying grave stones and the crumbling brick ends of the river house recall the days of the Lees of Blenheim.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography. By ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN. New York: Appleton-Century, 1941. 804 pp. $5.00.

For almost a century biographies of Poe have been coming from the presses of the world. He seems to be a fascinating subject for romantic speculation and psychological analysis. Few biographers, however, have been as meticulous in investigating and presenting the facts of Poe's life and writings as Professor Quinn. Already his biography has become the indispensable volume for the careful student of American literary history.

Poe's life was comparatively uneventful. Born in Boston of actor parents and left an orphan when still a child, he was adopted by a Richmond merchant. He attended school both in Richmond and in England, spent one year at the University of Virginia, then enlisted as a private in the army. He entered West Point, but, because of poverty, proceeded to have himself expelled. Outside of these simple adventures he was a writer, a "magazinist," and an editor. He married his Baltimore cousin, who was both too young and too frail, and he indulged in a number of flirtations. It would seem that such a life should be easy to write, yet biographers have found the task far from easy. The "facts" have been difficult to ascertain and still more difficult to disengage from the body of legend which has grown up around the very name of Poe.

Professor Quinn proves conclusively that the Reverend Mr. Griswold, Poe's literary executor and first biographer, was largely responsible for the distortion of many "facts" connected with Poe's life and character. Griswold hated Poe, who had severely criticized the gentleman's literary undertakings, and he did not scruple to alter letters and otherwise to falsify documents in order to present Poe in an unattractive light. But other writers whom Poe had, for one reason or another, offended contributed not a little to the "stories" about the poet's misbehaviors. Moreover, after Poe became famous, anyone who had ever known him or casually met him felt free to "reminisce" and thus further confuse the actual record. Mr. Quinn, armed with patience and scholarly acumen, has endeavored to separate fact from myth, the genuine from the spurious, the real from the fancied. On the whole, he has succeeded admirably.

And yet, the world's interest in Poe is due to his writings. The man was a poet, a story teller, and a critic. While it is true that knowing the facts of a writer's life may help us to understand his writings a little better, scholarly biographies are generally limited in their ability to make us appreciate the phenomenon of artistic genius. There are too many objective facts and there is too little critical insight. It is probably good for us to know all the rôles Poe's mother and father portrayed on the stage, and when and where, but just how much that will help us to either understand or appreciate the magic of "Ulalume" or the almost uncanny per-

fection of mood in such a story as "The Fall of the House of Usher" is problematical. In this respect Mr. Quinn's biography is no exception.

Nor is Mr. Quinn's style felicitous enough to give us any feeling that we are dealing with the actual and imaginative life of a poet. That he has tried to lighten his record of documents and dates is quite obvious; here and there he indulges in a personal pronoun; and here and there he flashes a bit of epigrammatic comment, such as "there is a difference between the expression of obscurity and the obscurity of expression." If he is rarely successful it is because his personal pronoun is lost in the multiplicity of objective facts, and appears to be an intrusion, and because his comment is neither subtle nor fresh. We do not need to be told—apropos of Poe's statement that "Man is now only more active—not more happy—nor more wise, than he was 6000 years ago"—that "Perhaps it is as true today as it was in 1844."

Professor Quinn's biography has long been needed by scholars and students. By it our knowledge of Poe, his background, his material struggles, his relations with other people, has been greatly enlarged. But there still remains the need for a biography of Poe the imaginative artist, the man who, like John Donne, was evidently born "things invisible to see," the man who was an unhappy wanderer in the misty mid-region of Weir, a poetic genius with heart volcanic, who once walked the prosaic streets of Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, but whose mind dwelt where Israfel dwells.

N. Bryllion Fagin.

Time and the Physician: The Autobiography of Lewellys F. Barker. New York: Putnam, 1942. 350 pp. $3.50.

Lewellys F. Barker was born at Milldale, Ontario, on September 16, 1867. His parents, James Frederick Barker and Sarah Jane Barker, were Quakers. Barker's grandfather, on his mother's side was the father of 23 children.

The author gives a most interesting account of the Quakers and of his boyhood. His father became a Quaker minister and in 1881 was selected as Superintendent of a Quaker seminary, Pickering College. Later he entered the Baptist ministry.

Young Barker, after passing the college entrance examinations, secured employment with an up-to-date druggist. Here, in addition to learning how to put up prescriptions, he obtained a preliminary knowledge of chemistry. Barker entered the Toronto School of Medicine in the fall of 1886. I can see him now, a tall, thin, sharp-featured lad with long arms, exceedingly long fingers and with a quiet, charming personality. It was not long before he was recognized as the outstanding man in his class. Later he taught members of his own class organic chemistry.

Dr. Barker refers to Dr. John Caven, the new Professor of Pathology in the Toronto school. He was one of the best teachers I have ever known and created a love for pathology in nearly all the class. He left an indelible impress on all of us.

Little wonder that Barker received the University Gold Medal, as well as the Starr Gold Medal for proficiency in scholarship when he graduated. He was head and shoulders in advance of any other member of his class. Even when Barker and I had charge of the Lying-In Hospital, he could wash and dress a baby more quickly than I could. My best record was 11 minutes; he did better than that.

To do justice to Barker's biography in a short space is impossible. I shall mention some of the high lights.

After reaching Baltimore in 1891, Barker accepted a position at the Garrett Hospital at Mount Airy, and in the fall followed Dr. Osler's work at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. In a short time his sterling qualities were recognized by Dr. Osler and he became a member of the medical staff. Early in 1892 Dr. Simon Flexner and he were delegated by the Maryland State Board of Health to study an epidemic of cerebrospinal meningitis in Lonaconing. In 1895 Barker and John Hewetson spent some time in post graduate work in Europe.

One of Dr. Barker's most important publications was *The Nervous System and its Constituent Neurones,* a book of 1122 pages, published by D. Appleton and Co. in 1899. It was "a systematic account of the histology of the cerebrospinal and sympathetic nervous systems and of their motor, sensory and association paths." This book made a profound impression both here and abroad.

In March 1899 Simon Flexner and Barker were commissioned to go to Manila to study the diseases which prevailed in the Philippine Islands. The party traveled to Manila by way of Vancouver, Japan and Hong Kong. In Japan they saw much of interest. In Hong Kong, through the courtesy of Dr. J. A. Lawson, they saw many cases of plague and attended many autopsies on these cases. In the Philippines the commission saw many febrile diseases, typhoid fever, malaria, tuberculosis, dengue, dysentery and some smallpox. In speaking of beri-beri in the Philippines, Barker says: "Ten thousand deaths due to beri-beri have occurred there in a single year among a population of about 12,000.000."

Barker and Joseph Marshall Flint inspected the plague districts of India. Barker went to Neemuch in central India to visit Dr. Margaret MacKellar who had worked in Dr. Mackay's office in Ingersoll, Ontario, ten years before when Barker was in the same office. He speaks in the most glowing terms of this Christian missionary and doctor. He says: "Dr. MacKellar had found that the combination, like a skeleton key, opened all doors." Dr. Barker left Baltimore in 1900 to accept the Professorship of Anatomy in the University of Chicago.

Early in 1901, Simon Flexner, F. G. Novy and Barker were appointed by the United States Government to study the plague situation in San Francisco. Their findings were most interesting and important.

On October 29, 1903, Dr. Barker married Miss Lilian Halsey of Baltimore and shortly thereafter they sailed for Europe. In the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for 1905, under the title, "An Intersemestral Excursion," Dr. Barker gave a full account of the hospitals and of the greater medical personalities he had visited on the trip.

Early in 1905, Dr. Frank Billings was instrumental in having Barker appointed Professor of Medicine in his department in the University of Chicago, because he knew that Barker desired ultimately to become an internist. At the end of the school term, in the spring of 1905, Dr. Osler resigned the Professorship of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University. Barker had been an assistant of Dr. Osler, had been Resident Pathologist to the Johns Hopkins Hospital under William H. Welch, had played a prominent part in the teaching of anatomy with Franklin P. Mall, had been Professor of Anatomy at the University of Chicago and also Professor of Medicine in that institution. He was an ideal man to succeed William Osler.

In 1905 Barker became Professor of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University and Physician in Chief to the Johns Hopkins Hospital. Dr. Osler bequeathed his secretary, Miss Blanche O. Humpton, to Barker. She has been a tower of strength to him ever since and is still his right bower.

Barker has always had the happy faculty of selecting outstanding associates. This faculty has enabled him to accomplish the maximum amount of work with the minimum amount of wear and tear. From 1906 on Barker wrote many papers in which he urged the profession to apply psychotherapy to patients whose maladies gave the indication for it.

Barker's career as Professor of Medicine is too well known to need comment here. When Dr. Barker became Dr. Osler's successor he asked whether it would be possible for the University to give him a salary large enough to permit him to devote his full time to his professional duties in the university and in the hospital. The University did not have the necessary funds.

In 1914 funds became available and Dr. Barker was asked if he would become a full time man. During the nine years he had occupied the Chair of Medicine, his fixed medical expenses had increased to such an extent that he could not accept the full-time professorship. He accordingly resigned the Chair of Medicine in order that the university might carry out its contemplated plans. Barker then became Clinical Professor of Medicine and retained this office until 1921 when he became Professor Emeritus. Dr. Barker throughout his entire medical career has been an indefatigable worker and has published numerous books and monographs. He has been on many committees and boards and has received many academic honors.

Barker's handwriting is made up of small, individual letters that remind one of script. He writes rapidly; otherwise he could never have penned 52 pages in his fourth year medical examination in two hours!

The late Thomas B. Futcher's writing closely resembled Barker's and now and then I had to look at the signature to see which one had written the letter. I have never known any one else whose writing resembled theirs. Barker refers to Palmer Futcher who stood very high in his class in the medical school and who was later Resident in Medicine at Hopkins. Dr. Barker's own son, Halsey also stood extremely well in his class and

was likewise later Resident Physician. He is now Associate in Medicine and Assistant Dean in the Johns Hopkins Medical School.

Mrs. Osler was a delightful hostess and the Chief's home was a Mecca for medical students and medical men. Dr. Barker in his autobiography has paid a delightful tribute to Mrs. Barker who has so ably kept up the traditions started by Mrs. Osler.

When Dr. Barker became Clinical Professor of Medicine and was relieved of the routine duties, he had more time for writing and for years his office has been crowded with private patients. He has also been called to all parts of the country in consultation.

Barker's former students, his many friends in the medical profession and his patients, will greatly enjoy this book which so clearly depicts a brilliant scholar, a leader in medicine and a true friend, and also gives a graphic glimpse of the early days in the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

The class of 1890, of the Toronto University Medical School, has always been proud of Lew Barker.

It hardly seems possible that the young intern who turned to me in the Burnside Lying-In Hospital in Toronto in the spring of 1891 and said, "Tommy, I am going to Hopkins," should in 14 years succeed one of the most prominent and beloved physicians in the United States as the Professor of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University.

The book is beautifully written. The Toronto *Saturday Night* of May 9, 1942, in a review of Dr. Barker's book says, "One of the most fascinating books of the year."

It is.

THOMAS S. CULLEN.

Maryland Main and the Eastern Shore. By HULBERT FOOTNER. Illustrated by Louis Ruyl. New York: Appleton-Century, 1942. $5.00.

When I was invited to review my own book for the *Maryland Historical Magazine* the reviews were out and my first thought was: What a chance to get back at my critics! But when I came to consider what they had written I found that I had very little to get back at them for. In the case of this book they erred on the side of kindness. This affects me with a certain disquiet for one feels instinctively that there must be something lacking in a book (as in a man) whom everybody praises.

They have their amusing foibles though, my reviewers. For one thing it is almost impossible to convince them that a bay which has an Eastern Shore, always so distinguished, would naturally have a Western Shore too. In this book I have devoted five chapters to the counties on the Western Shore, nevertheless many of the reviewers insisted on placing everything that happened around Chesapeake Bay on the Eastern Shore. Once I wrote a whole book about Charles' Gift and Calvert County, but even now when I meet people for the first time they are apt to say: "Oh yes, you're from the Eastern Shore. I have read your book!" Perhaps after I have written

two or three more books about the Western Shore a suspicion will dawn in the minds of my readers that there is such a place.

One distinguished reviewer, a citizen but not a native of Maryland, accuses me of having viewed my state through rose-colored glasses. There is truth in this criticism. He says I take "Tobacco and Tolerance" for my text without examining the quality of either. It is quite true that Maryland tobacco is pretty rank when smoked by itself; he overlooks the fact that it has a free-burning quality which makes it invaluable in a blend with other tobaccos. As to intolerance as exemplified by certain hideous lynching parties, I can only plead that it has been confined to one not very large portion of our state. It gives me pleasure to tell the story of one lynching that was happily averted through the courage and wit of a Maryland citizen.

The same reviewer thinks I ought to have called attention to the appalling conditions existing among the crab-pickers (I didn't see any appalling conditions) and the "stoop-crop" gatherers of the Eastern Shore; the ex-miners of the Western counties, the inhabitants of the infamous lung-blocks of Baltimore city. This is proper criticism, but I think the reviewer has a little misapprehended my purpose in writing this book. If it had been a sociological work all right, but it is a character study of a state and a people where during more than thirty years I have never received anything but hospitality and kindness—well hardly anything!—consequently it is bound to be rose-colored. I could not write about Maryland in any other way. I depend upon intelligent readers to discount my obvious partiality. I am aware of the defects in the character of the beloved and I point out a good many, too, as I go along, but always I suppose, with affection.

Another friendly reviewer, in this case a distinguished son of Maryland after calling attention to one of my howlers (I erred a mere half century in the date of the incorporation of Baltimore City) goes on to say: "Mr. Footner's debonair and nonchalant way of using real names in the spicy anecdotes he tells, fairly makes my hair stand up. If some of his tetchy Southern Maryland friends don't get down the ancestral shot gun and go hunting for him the old spirit has departed." Ah! but I have fooled my reviewer here! Except in the case of those who have departed, I have invented names, names which sound so like old Maryland names that he was taken in!

An intimate book of this sort brings the author many letters from readers. Nearly all of them are kind and generous letters, even when their purpose is to point out my errors. An author often makes delightful new friends in this manner. There are about six major errors of fact in my book, besides minor slips, and each has been pointed out to me about six times. This is perfectly proper of course. Each letter has caused me to blush afresh. One of my worst errors was due to a lapse of memory in the old-timer who told me the story, but that doesn't let me out; I ought to have checked his story with the records.

HULBERT FOOTNER.

Chesapeake Bay Bugeyes. By M. V. BREWINGTON. (Museum Publication No. 8.) Newport News, Virginia: Mariners' Museum, 1941. 116 pp. $3.00.

To the eyes of anyone who has sailed on the Chesapeake Bay, the bug-eye is so characteristic that a book on the subject arouses his interest immediately. All Bay sailors know that the buy-eye has two raking masts carrying triangular sails, and that she has a clipper bow; they love to see the bug-eyes carrying lumber, watermelons, grain or oysters, running free or beating slowly against a head wind. Many have thought of converting bug-eyes into yachts, but few have done so. Few have actually sailed on them. And so, the bug-eye remains to amateur sailors as familiar as the trees on James' Point or the Calvert Cliffs—and as unknown.

It is therefore a pleasure to welcome Mr. M. V. Brewington's book *Chesapeake Bay Bugeyes*, published by The Mariners' Museum of Newport News. The book is not large, but it is complete, for it records the history, growth and decline of the bug-eye during a period that is well defined, but surprisingly short. The prospect for the future of the bug-eye is dark, but she will not depart without mourners. And those who desire to have an accurate record of her form and structure now have one in Mr. Brewington's book, which is filled with photographs of bug-eyes, their rigging and gear, tackle, sail plans, hull plans and sections, and tables showing the name, dimensions, and builder of every bug-eye of which there is a record.

What is a bug-eye, and how did she come into being? A bug-eye, says Mr. Brewington, is the "ultimate development of the American aboriginal dugout canoe." She came into being as a result of the peculiar needs of the oyster fishing of the Chesapeake Bay. Originally, oysters were taken with tongs from small canoes, but after a controversy lasting for several decades before the Civil War, and ending in the legalizing of the oyster dredge, a device imported from New England, the bug-eye was developed as the most suitable vessel to use it. Existing types of vessel did not suit; the bulwarks of schooners were too high; the draft of pungys was too deep; both required too many men to handle their gear. The hull of neither was sufficiently strong to withstand the wear and tear of handling the sharp-shelled oysters.

There thus developed from the log canoes small vessels known as "brogans," and from the brogans, the log-hulled bug-eyes, the first of which made their appearance in the Bay between 1865 and 1870; their hulls, about 50 to 60 feet long on deck, being built of five or more logs. The bug-eye is essentially a hybrid.

> From the canoe came the principal elements: the basic design, the dugout log hull, and the sail plan: all admirably developed for economy, durability, and ease of handling with a minimum of trained hands. From the pungy came the combination knightheads and hawsepieces, the sweeping sheer, the low freeboard, and the log rail

which allowed the oyster dredge to be easily and quickly hoisted on deck. From the Bay schooner came the shoal draft, the broad beam, the unobstructed deck layout, and the graceful longhead with its decorated trail-boards.

Although the first bug-eyes were built of logs, about 1880 scarcity of timber necessitated construction by the conventional frame and plank methods. But even so, the bug-eye model was retained in preference to any other form. Nor was there a continuous development of hull form within the type itself, which came into being almost full fledged. The conditions of work which created the bug-eye remained unchanged, and the men who built the first bug-eyes in many cases modeled and laid down the last.

Why should there be last bug-eyes? Because although oyster dredging may not have changed, transportation of oysters and other produce to the market has changed. Thus, as all Bay sailors know, the bug-eyes are being supplanted by those ungraceful motor boats, which are sometimes converted bug-eyes, which have a cargo mast forward and a square house aft, and are known according to taste as "put-puts," "stink boats," or "those damned power boats." As long as everyone was dependent on the wind to get him to market, any man's competitors suffered from head winds as much as the man himself. But when a bug-eye beating up the Bay sees a power boat chugging steadily into it, with the practical certainty of arriving on schedule, sentiment and romance are submerged in the economic tidal wave.

One question which has long puzzled the denizens of the Bay is the origin of the name "bug-eye." Mr. Brewington does not answer the question categorically, but he throws a great deal of light on it. There are five traditional theories. The first is that the deck view of the vessel resembles half of the outer covering of the horse chestnut, or "buck-eye." The second theory is that the word is a corruption of the Scotch word "buckler," or perhaps of a word of some African dialect. The third theory is that the Negroes thought that the hawse holes in connection with the knighthead and hawsepieces looked like "bugs'-eyes." The fourth theory is that the name is the result of a transposition of the name "buggy" from a land to a water vehicle. The fifth theory is that the name owes its origin to the practice of painting a large circle on each side of the bow. There is also the suggestion, not dignified into a theory, that the name comes from the fact that the craft was so handy that she could be turned in as small a space as a bug's eye. Finally, there is a story that Captain Clement R. Sterling, who built the first bug-eye, when asked by passing sailors what his strange craft was called, replied "It's a bug's eye!" Mr. Brewington, after discussing these possibilities, states his personal inclination to the view that the corruption of a foreign word is the most probable.

If the origin of the word "bug-eye" is not definitely settled, however, another mystery of name is, viz.: the name of the famous bugeye *Brown Smith Jones*, which some years ago engaged in a race with Henry Bald-

win's *Bee*, and is still in commission. The name of *Brown Smith Jones* is not, as some have suspected, an apotheosis of either anonymity or mediocrity; the vessel, built in 1894 for the Maryland State Navy, was named for Governor Frank Brown, Comptroller Marion de K. Smith, and Treasurer Spencer C. Jones.

Another minor mystery which is cleared up is the "patent stern." The astonishing information is authoritatively set forth that the stern really was patented—in 1908—by Captain Joseph E. Robbins of Cambridge—and the original patent drawings are reproduced in fac-simile. The original bug-eyes, being doubled ended, had insufficient deck room aft. The round stern did not remedy the defect, nor did the duck-tail. Captain Robbins' invention was merely a davit for hoisting the ship's boat at the stern, but when the space between the two beams supporting the arms of the davit was decked over, the after deck was greatly enlarged. The device was so successful that almost every bug-eye on the Bay adopted it.

Lastly, Mr. Brewington says that although a few bug-eyes were built in Virginia, most of them were built in Maryland, and the best of these on the Eastern Shore. Whether more will be built is open to doubt, but in the present book, Mr. Brewington has made a remarkably interesting record of a type that was born and bred in our own Bay.

EMORY H. NILES

Robert Alexander, Maryland Loyalist. By JANET BASSETT JOHNSON. New York: Putnam, 1942. xiii, 152 pp. $2.50.

Very little has been known about Robert Alexander. J. Thomas Scharf, in his three volume history of Maryland referred to him five times, and called him the chief of Maryland loyalists (II, p. 297), but Matthew Page Andrews did not mention him in his history of Maryland. Dr. Janet Bassett Johnson has combed the sources with meticulous care, and has proved the sincerity of his loyalty both to the revolutionists before the Declaration of Independence and also to England after that event. He now appears primarily as a fine type of honest, conscientious loyalist. However, since nearly all the extant materials for his life are found in official documents, and in many of these he is one of a number of signers, it is impossible to present a well-rounded, distinctive personality. This is not, in any sense, a criticism of the author. She has convinced us so well that Robert Alexander was one of the leading patriotic Marylanders of the revolutionary period up to May, 1776, that we feel keenly the lack of personal, intimate letters. We still do not know the exact year of his birth. We know practically nothing about his boyhood, where he studied law, or the family name of his wife. He was undoubtedly one of the most prominent Baltimoreans of the period, but Hamilton Owens, in *Baltimore on the Chesapeake*, does not mention him. We do not even know the line of reasoning he followed at the greatest crisis of his life when he deserted the colonial cause. We can only surmise whether the sprained ankle which kept him from the Continental Congress in June and July, 1776,

was "an excuse" (Scharf, II, p. 298) or a real physical disability (Johnson, p. 98). The author has succeeded so well in convincing us that the English recognized his ability and integrity that we regret that much more information about his life in New York and in England has not survived the ravages of time.

Under these circumstances, the author is to be commended for not yielding to the temptation to pad her material. Her problem has not been that of sifting out and choosing from ample sources, but that of using skillfully all available information. This she has done in a very interesting manner, and has made an important contribution to Maryland biography.

The strong probability that the "Robt. Alexander" referred to in the *Virginia Gazette* of January 14, 1775, and quoted in Delaplaine's *Life of Thomas Johnson*, p. 78, was the Robert Alexander of her biography, should have been mentioned, as it would have associated him with George Washington in plans for the opening of navigation on the Potomac river.

In a few places a little more background would have clarified the narrative. Thus, on page 90, a letter refers to "securing Mr. Eden and his papers," but the circumstances of the embarrassing position of the once-popular royal governor, Sir Robert Eden, are not explained.

The format of the book is very attractive, and there are almost no typographical errors. The reference to "January 20, 1775" on page 74 obviously should be "1776".

JAMES BYRNE RANCK

Hood College

Baltimore, 1870-1900: Studies in Social History. By CHARLES HIRSCHFELD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. $1.50.

In the long series of studies in local history which have been the careful concern of the Johns Hopkins since its early days, this painstaking work by Mr. Hirschfeld ranks close to the top.

Few historians have troubled themselves with what happened to the older cities of the country between the close of the Civil War and the turn of the century. The romantic winning of the West was a more congenial theme, apparently, than tracing the changes wrought in the East by the organization of the country on a continental basis. Baltimore, by its geographical location, primarily, and by its sectional schizophrenia, in a lesser degree, tells the story of the new urbanization perhaps better than any other city on the seaboard.

Mr. Hirschfeld, in approaching as a pioneer this almost uncharted region, is careful to set out limits to his work and to avoid unseemly generalization. But his limits show his skill as a historian. He talks, successively, of the growth of population, of the organization of industrial units, of the development of public education and of organized charity.

Each topic is approached with due regard to the interrelated nature of the whole problem. There are statistics, as there should be, but there are also copious quotations from the citizens and newspapers of the time

who were struggling to understand the changes in progress and to adjust the community life to the demands being made.

What we get, as a result, is a picture of the development of urban America as we know it today, with its loss, on the one hand, of the fine individualism which marked the days of the merchant-entrepreneurs, and its achievement, on the other, of civic consciousness and almost instinctive concern for disparate groups, as groups. The conflicts, the advances and retreats, the victories and defeats are all suggested here even when they are not explicitly set forth.

For future students of Baltimore this work will be a source book for the period which we may come to believe was the most dramatic in our history. It should be a welcome model for historians working in the same period in other cities, for its method is at once straightforward and effective.

HAMILTON OWENS

The Life of Emma Thursby, 1845-1931. By RICHARD MCCANDLESS GIPSON. New York: New York Historical Society, 1940. 470 p.

The collections of the New York Historical Society were recently enriched with a vast quantity of material relating to the life and career of the American singer Emma Thursby (1842-1931), well known to music lovers of the seventies and eighties. Phonograph records will help biographers of the future to pass accurate judgment on the voices of today; but in the case of Emma Thursby we can only fall back on the enthusiasms of long-dead musical critics in Europe and America who seem to agree in placing her among the ranking concert singers of her time. Certain it is that through her artistic activities and her innumerable friendships (she united talent with a charming personality) Miss Thursby was deeply involved in the musical life of this country for a great span of years. Students of our musical history therefore have reason to give thanks to Mr. Richard McCandless Gipson for welding a dismayingly large amount of memorabilia into a painstaking, readable biography, and to the New York Historical Society for sponsoring the volume so handsomely.

To readers other than those seeking definite information about a period, "The Life of Emma Thursby" is not apt to make a strong appeal. Few people in these distracted days have minds sufficiently at ease to catch the elusive fragrance of old programmes, yellowing press-notices and faded bouquets cast at the feet of a triumphant artist many, many years ago. Legends of Jenny Lind and Adeline Patti still linger on, it is true; but in Emma Thursby we are confronted by a much more cautious, "genteel" personality. She was born into a prosperous family of Brooklyn, New York, that rockribbed stronghold of respectability. The solid implications of this fact overshadowed her entire life, and although she found her way to music as surely as water seeks its level (her first concert she gave at the age of five) her approach to it was through the church choir and the oratorio, and moral scruples held her back from entering the

turbulent Bohemian world of the opera. The chronicle of her life—as Mr. Gipson chooses to have us know it, at any rate—is most respectable, free from the emotional tempests and entanglements which the average reader is apt to look for in a great singer's biography. More spicy is the personality of her teacher, Erminia Rudersdorff (mother of Richard Mansfield, the actor) many of whose letters are quoted.

An interesting feature of the present volume is a chronology of Miss Thursby's concert appearances from 1853 to 1908, the reading of which carries one breathless across oceans and continents and fills one with respect for the vitality of the songstress. She knew her country to the furthermost cultural outposts. From this chronology, we learn that her début in Baltimore was made at a concert at the Peabody Conservatory of Music on February 5, 1875. Subsequently she made eleven other appearances in that city.

JOHN GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

Doctor Wood, Modern Wizard of the Laboratory. . . . By WILLIAM SEABROOK. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1941. 335 pp. $3.75.

In reading the above work, the thoughts of the reviewer reverted, through the reaches of time, to the difficulties which his non-scientific mind met at the Johns Hopkins University in securing the requisite passing mark in Physics I, then taught by the redoubtable Dr. Joseph S. Ames. The solitary human touch, at that time, to his hesitant ingress to and joyous departure from classes in the old physical laboratory on West Monument Street was the permeating aroma from the omnipresent pipe of Dr. Robert W. Wood—a pipe which when lighted years later, whether abstractedly or through design, broke the hitherto existing ban against smoking in the sacred halls of the Royal Society of England.

The author of the life history of the *Modern Wizard of the Laboratory*, of course, had an incomparable subject about which to write. Yet, this fact increased rather than diminished the demand upon his ability and genius. He encountered no light burden when called upon to produce a biography appropriate to "one of modern research's greatest masters." The biographer has shown rare aptitude in giving not only to the scientific mind but also to the lay mind a volume exceedingly difficult to "put down."

The reader is carried steadily forward over the dynamic course of an imaginative and daring scientist without ever becoming lost in the labyrinth of experimental physics. Though this result springs in part from the human and exuberant traits in Dr. Wood's nature, the originality and boldness of his experimentation and its often dramatic presentation, the world-wide recognition of his scientific achievements, his studies and travels in foreign lands and the signal honors conferred upon him both at home and abroad, the balanced crossing of the warp and the woof in the weaving of the story of his career discloses a masterful literary hand. The warp of science and of scientific attainment is so adroitly entwined with

the woof of the natural reactions and the experiences of a rugged individualist that the reader can suffer no tedium as he follows the life path of this scientific " commando."

Observing that the author, in treating of Dr. Wood's experimental work in physics, his resultant discoveries and consequent accomplishments, frequently and wisely incorporated in his text Dr. Wood's own statements with reference thereto, the reviewer, not having this chance, is prudently content to refer to Sir Oliver Lodge's presentation of him in 1913, upon the occasion of his receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Birmingham, in England, when he characterized him as " one of the most brilliant and original experimental physicists in the world."

Of compelling interest are the chapters relating to the forays made by Dr. Wood beyond the confines of the scientific and experimental world, which tended to encompass him. An incursion into the realm of literature resulted in his publication of *How to Tell the Birds from the Flowers.* Student days and sabbatical years in Europe had their full quota of travel and of social life. The first World War brought from Dr. Wood suggestions for and inventions of new methods of warfare and to him a commission as major in the United States Army. On a visit to Egypt in 1931, he became interested in King Tutankhamen's purple gold, and his later experimentation solved its mystery. Scorn for deception and for " psychic " and spiritualistic mediums (plus, it is ventured, a sense of humor) resulted in his exposé of scientific frauds and his warfare with mediums. Renown as an experimental physicist and an analyst brought about his induction into service as a scientific detective and his solution of many baffling problems. The flight of the boomerang seized Dr. Wood's imagination during his student days in Germany, and he became an expert boomerang thrower. The book is replete with references to interesting friendships formed and distinguished persons known, and intriguing glimpses are given into the life of Dr. Wood at home.

The reader, in contemplating the career of the man, can but exclaim *Mirabile dictu.*

EDWARD D. MARTIN.

Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire, His Life and Work. By LAWRENCE FOUSHEE LONDON. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1941. xii, 140 pp. $2.00.

When Dr. Cheshire, fifth Anglican Bishop of North Carolina and the first native of the State to preside over that see, died in 1932, he was in his eighty-third year and the fortieth year of his episcopate. He was consecrated in October 1893, after being elected on 28th June in circumstances of peculiar interest to the reviewer, since Dr. Cheshire withdrew from the electing convention at Raleigh after the twenty-fourth ballot in order to celebrate the marriage of the reviewer's mother and father.*

* Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, the North Carolina historian and bibliographer.

Dr. Cheshire's election ensued on the thirty-ninth ballot. Throughout the four decades of his episcopate he ruled with a firm hand, but his forthrightness of temper, honesty of purpose, soundness of judgment, courage, kindness, and understanding sympathy with his people gave to that rule the proper pastoral touch of a Catholic bishop.

Bishop Cheshire was born in 1850, the son of the parish priest of Tarborough. Descended from an old Carolina family, the father played an active part in the Diocesan Convention and the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1865 which brought together again the Church in the United States and in the former Confederacy, the story of which is so ably told by the son in his scholarly work, *The Church in the Confederate States* (1912). Possibly this broadmindedness led the father to send his son North to college, for in 1866 he entered Trinity at Hartford. There his best friends were Maryland students and after graduation he came to Maryland to teach Greek and Latin for two years in the Rev[d] Dr. Shepherd's school, St. Clement's Hall, at Ellicott City. In 1871 he returned to Carolina, read law at Hillsborough, and again coming to Maryland began practice with Geo. G. Hooper in Baltimore. He remained here, however, only fifteen months and again returned to Carolina, this time for good. At Tarborough he carried on a successful practice until 1878, when he gave up the law to take Holy Orders. Dr. London perhaps lays too little emphasis upon the part which legal concepts and legal methods played in Bishop Cheshire's thinking.

Important among his works as bishop were the erection of the western counties into a missionary jurisdiction under a bishop; the adoption in 1899, and later endowment, by the several dioceses of the Carolinas of St. Mary's School, Raleigh, which is now the largest Church school for girls in America; his conscientious work among the Negroes which led in 1918 to the election of a black suffragan bishop; and his contributions as a member of the Church's General Conventions and the Pan-Anglican Lambeth Conferences.

His achievements can be barely indicated here, but the impress of his character was definite. If one seeks a parallel in fiction, one must add to the firmness of Archdeacon Grantly the spiritual integrity of Warden Harding, and the sound common sense of Parson Adams. As an historian, Bishop Cheshire early showed originality in his suggestion that the early settlers of the Albemarle Country were not seeking religious freedom but economic independence, a thesis fully sustained by later writers.

Bishop Cheshire was twice married, the first time to Annie Huske Webb of Hillsborough, who was the mother of his several children, in 1874; and after her death, to Elizabeth Lansdale Mitchell in 1899. Miss Mitchell's father was a clergyman and her mother a Miss Thomas of Cremona, St. Mary's County, Maryland, where the Bishop spent many holidays after their marriage. He was a great fisherman and enjoyed equally the Patuxent and the French Broad. He was likewise very fond of wild turkey-shooting, a sport which he enjoyed to the end. With a keen sense of humor, he was an extraordinary raconteur. Fortunately, many of his stories of plantation life and eminent men in Carolina are

preserved in his delightful book, *Nonnulla* (1930). The unusual candor of his mind and speech enabled him to meet on equal terms both gentle and simple, scholar and field-hand; to tell the astonished master of Hatfield House, while viewing its ancestral portraits, more of the deeds of the Cecils than he himself knew (as the Bishop once amusedly related to the reviewer); and to discuss interestedly with a Negro farmer the last farrowing of his favorite sow. Such a personality bursts the bounds of so small a book, but Dr. London has striven well to suggest it in his almost austere narrative of the events of a full life. His work is well done, and, we may hope, is only the precursor of a biography which will portray at full-length, with many letters, both prelate and man.

MANGUM WEEKS

Old South Carolina Churches. By HAZEL CROWSON SELLERS. With an Introduction by Chapman J. Milling. Columbia, S. C.: Crowson Printing Co., 1941. xix, [65] p. 61 plates. $5.00.

Dr. Milling's informative and exceedingly interesting outline of the denominational history of South Carolina is a fitting introduction to the sixty-one sketches of old South Carolina churches, each one drawn from the original building, by Mrs. Hazel Grossan Sellers. One can find no description of her accomplishment to equal two sentences in Dr. Milling's introduction: "Into the work has gone sincere tenderness and a love of her task. I think she has caught the spirit which actuated the building of these fine old houses of God."

Mrs. Sellers has chosen an excellent arrangement for her material. On the page facing each plate is a well-chosen quotation; sometimes a few lines, often several verses from an appropriate poem; or it may be quaint and moving lines from a tablet on a church wall, or an epitaph in a churchyard, or a quotation from the Bible. On the page following each plate is a brief outline of that church's organization and its history. It is an astonishing achievement to give so much information in so small a compass.

To South Carolinians who treasure and revere their historic houses of worship this book will be an invaluable possession. To all others interested in the architecture of old American churches the beauty and variety of the sketches will stimulate and increase that interest.

Any one who has had the good fortune to visit Charleston, and to see even a small part of South Carolina, can not fail to carry away the impression that both the State and the city hold a unique position in these United States. Is it not probable that the many old churches, beautiful in their dignity and simplicity and individuality, have stamped those qualities upon the community that built and has preserved these "fine old Houses of God?"

CAROLINA V. DAVISON

The Bibb Family in America, 1640-1940. By CHARLES WILLIAM BIBB. Baltimore, Md.: The Author, 1941. 149 pp.

Bibb is an unusual name in family nomenclature. As a surname, its origin and meaning appear to be involved in obscurity. Mr. Charles William Bibb believes that it is derived from a "cleat or bracket" used in connection with the equipment of ancient ships. Whether this explanation is correct or not can only be determined by finding the original form of the word in the period when it became fixed as a surname, and this cannot be achieved by consulting the pages of a standard dictionary.

The compiler of this genealogy of the Bibb family is worthy of commendation for his painstaking efforts in overcoming many "handicaps" in the course of his quest. The destruction by fire of many of the early records in Virginia and the lack of interest on the part of quite a number of the Bibb descendants have been especially discouraging to the compiler. Another impediment was the fact that some of the pedigrees of this family, hitherto invested with credit, have been found to be erroneous. Lack of space will not permit the citing of instances at this time.

Among members of the Bibb family who have attained prominence in public life may be mentioned: George M. Bibb (1776-1859), born in Prince Edward County, Va., died in Georgetown, D. C., a U. S. Senator from Kentucky; Dr. William Wyatt Bibb (1780-1820), born in the same county, died in Alabama, a U. S. Senator from Georgia and, later, territorial Governor of Alabama, 1817-1820; Thomas Bibb (1789-1839), who succeeded his brother as Governor of Alabama in 1820, *et cetera.*

This work, although fragmentary at times, is a valuable compilation.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER

The First Century and a Quarter of American Coal Industry. By HOWARD N. EAVENSON. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Privately printed, 1942. 701 pp.

This detailed history of the coal industry in this country includes a chapter on Maryland, which the author says was the third state to produce coal. There are numerous other references to Maryland's coal mining and trade in the colonial period and the nineteenth century. Early sources have been consulted, and, as a result, the study is especially valuable in supplementing the early history given in the Maryland Geological Survey report on coal. Shipping by way of the Potomac River and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad is stressed. Detailed statistical tables trace production to 1885.

E. C. L.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The *Twenty-fifth Report* of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, recently issued, carries short articles on these topics among others: "History of the English-German Schools in Baltimore," by Dr. Ernest J. Becker; "German Settlers on the Eastern Shore of Maryland," by Arthur L. Davis; "The Baltimore Germans and the Oath of Allegiance in 1778," by Dr. Dieter Cunz, and biographical sketches of the late Karl A. M. Scholtz, a member of the Maryland Historical Society, by Lewis Kurtz, and of the late Dr. Christian Deetjen by Professor William Kurrelmeyer.

Hughes—Who were the parents of Samuel Hughes, born about 1689, who lived near Deer Creek, then Baltimore County but now in Harford, in 1730? His will is in Book 3, f. 185, in the Baltimore court house, and was probated Feb. 11, 1771. He married Hannah Jane Watkins Nov. 4, 1714. Their children were Margaret, John, Jane, Sarah and Mary. It is believed that his brothers and sister were named Jonathan, William and Sarah. Possibly the family immigrated from New England. Has any one information as to the date when this family arrived in America?

JOSEPH LEE HUGHES,
20 E. Washington, St., Fleetwood, Pa.

Summer Hours.—Until September 15 the Rooms of the Society will be open daily from 9 a. m. to 4 p. m., except Saturday when they will close at 1 p. m.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

The intensive study of historical portraiture and painting in the South Atlantic states made over a period of years by DR. J. HALL PLEASANTS, vice president of this Society and editor of the *Archives of Maryland*, has shed a wealth of new light on the subject. His disclosure of Joshua Johnston's work is arousing wide interest. ☆ HENRY W. BRAGDON, graduate of Harvard and of Trinity College, Cambridge (England), is an instructor in history at Brooks School, North Andover, Massachusetts. Since 1938 he has been engaged in a study of Woodrow Wilson's academic career, 1875-1910. ☆ As mentioned previously in these notes, Dr. CHARLES BRANCH CLARK is a Marylander now teaching at West Georgia College. ☆ PHILIP B. GOVE is an instructor in English in University College, New York University, and holds degrees from Dartmouth, Harvard and Columbia universities. The lively letter of an immigrant to Maryland in 1771 which he has contributed was unearthed during research in England prior to the opening of the War. ☆ ETHEL ROBY HAYDEN (Mrs. Lewis M. Hayden) of Baltimore is a native of Charles County and a contributor to the contemporary press. Her paper is a welcome addition to the scant materials in print regarding the history of Charles County.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

Feb. 26, 1942.—At a special meeting of the Society President Radcliffe requested Mr. Griswold, chairman of the Entertainment Committee, to introduce the guest speaker, Dr. Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University, and visiting lecturer at Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Morison's topic was "Sailing in the Wake of Columbus." The address was received with great interest and enjoyment by an audience that taxed the capacity of the hall. At its conclusion the speaker was given a rising vote of thanks.

March 9, 1942.—The regular meeting of the Society was held this evening with President Radcliffe in the chair.

The following were elected members:

Active.

Mr. Eugene H. Beer
Mr. Arthur H. deCourcy
Mr. William Curran
Mr. Benjamin Franklin Ellers
Dr. Charles M. Emig
Mrs. Mary Powell Northam
Mrs. Nettie Crockett Northam
Mrs. R. Wellford Peach
Mr. Harris Sparks
Mrs. J. Cook Webster

Associate

Mr. George R. Cooke

The death of Miss Lida Lee Tall, on February 21, 1942, was reported.

Senator Radcliffe introduced Dr. Henry Ridgely Evans who gave an address on "Mysticism and Magic during the Colonial Period and Later." Upon conclusion of this interesting paper a demonstration of the art of magic was presented by members of the Society of Osiris of Baltimore.

April 13, 1942.—At a regular meeting of the Society, with President Radcliffe in the chair, a list of donations to the library was read and the following were elected to membership:

Active

Mrs. Arthur Beaven
Mr. Ernest F. Fadum
Mr. Water Matthew Gibb
Mr. Water E. Keene
Hon. William H. Lawrence
Hon. Eugene O'Dunne
Dr. J. M. H. Rowland
Mr. Theodore E. Straus
Mr. C. Webster Tall

Associate

Miss Catherine Letterman
Major Richard D. Mudd, M. C.

The following deaths were reported from among the members:

Mrs. Albert W. Sioussat, March 15, 1942.

Mr. H. C. Roberson (Associate member), March 31, 1942.
George C. Keidel, Ph. D., April 12, 1942.

A most interesting paper was read by the Honorable W. Calvin Chesnut, Judge of the United States District Court, entitled: "The Work of the Federal Court in Maryland." A rising vote of thanks was extended to Judge Chesnut.

May 11, 1942.—A regular meeting of the Society was called to order by Mr. B. Howell Griswold, Jr., Chairman of the Committee on Addresses, who introduced Dr. Lewellys F. Barker, the speaker, whose subject was "The Early Days of Johns Hopkins Hospital." Upon conclusion of Dr. Barker's entertaining address, President Radcliffe invited various members in the audience to add their comments to the description so delightfully furnished by Dr. Barker. Dr. J. M. H. Rowland, Dr. Hugh H. Young, Dr. John McF. Bergland, Judge W. Calvin Chesnut, Judge Henry D. Harlan, Mr. Ralph Robinson and Mr. B. Howell Griswold, Jr., contributed to the discussion. Mr. Griswold proposed a rising vote of thanks to Dr. Barker.

Elected to membership were the following:

Active

Mr. J. Hollis Buchanan Albert
Mr. Henry Herbert Balch
Miss Elizabeth Banks
Congresswoman Katherine E. Byron
Mr. George R. Callis
Mrs. Robert Lee Paris
Miss Anna S. Gittings
Mr. William H. C. Griffith
Mr. Rufus K. Goodenow
Mr. Charles W. L. Johnson
Mrs. Carl W. Markham
Mr. Frederick M. Supplee

Associate

Mrs. William A. Kelsey
Miss Martha S. Poole
Mr. Ray Robosson
Mrs. Brantz Mayer Roszel
Mr. John P. Wenchel

The deaths of the following members were reported:

Mrs. Walter Wickes, on April 21, 1942.
Mr. George M. Shriver, on May 11, 1942.

The long list of donations made to the library was not read but two very interesting items were mentioned, one being the manuscript genealogical notes of the late Dr. Christopher Johnston, which make a valuable addition to the collection of such materials; the second being the gift, through Mr. M. V. Brewington, on behalf of Mr. Bernard F. Williamson, of the "Time and Waste Books, 1831-1835" of the firm of James Joseph Williamson, 3d, of Fell's Point. Mr. William B. Crane, co-author of *Men of Marque,* at the request of the President gave a description of this very interesting material. He noted that the books contained records of special interest to students of Baltimore's shipbuilding history, including data concerning the *Ann McKim.*

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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1843, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

Since 1906 the Society has published *The Maryland Historical Magazine.* There are monthly meetings from October to May, inclusive, at which addresses of a historical or literary nature are given. Those interested in the objects of the Society are invited to have their names proposed for membership. The annual dues are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to *The Maryland Historical Magazine* is included in the membership fee of five dollars, as well as the use of the Society's collections and admission to the monthly lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open on every day of the week except Sundays.

The Society depends on the people of Maryland and its friends elsewhere for its maintenance. The gift of documents and books and donations or bequests to the endowment fund, have made it possible to build up a notable historical library. The collections include not only manuscripts dealing with the social, political and military history of the State, but also letters, diaries, business accounts, maps, newspapers, pamphlets, prints and photographs. Only by a continuance of interest in the Society will it be possible to preserve and catalogue its present collections and, of equal importance, to acquire new documents recording the rich history of the people of Maryland. In short, the usefulness of the Maryland Historical Society depends not only upon the number of its members, but upon their generosity as well.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

BARBARA (HAUER) FRIETSCHIE

1766–1862

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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BARBARA FRIETSCHIE

By DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN
and WILLIAM ROGERS QUYNN

In October, 1863, the *Atlantic Monthly* published Whittier's ballad, "Barbara Frietchie." Almost immediately a controversy arose about the truth of the poet's version of the story. As the years passed, the controversy became more involved until every period and phase of the heroine's life were included. This paper attempts to separate fact from fiction, and to study the growth of the legend concerning the life of Mrs. John Casper Frietschie, née Barbara Hauer, known to the world as Barbara Fritchie.

I. THE HEROINE AND HER FAMILY

On September 30, 1754, the ship *Neptune* arrived in Philadelphia with its cargo of "400 souls," among them Johann Niklaus Hauer. The immigrants, who came from the "Palatinate, Darmstad and Zweybrecht" [1] went to the Court House, where they took the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, Hauer being among those sufficiently literate to sign his name, instead of making his mark.[2]

Niklaus Hauer and his wife, Catherine, came from the Palatinate.[3] The only source for his birthplace is the family Bible, in which it is noted that he was born on August 6, 1733, in "Germany in Nassau-Saarbrücken, Dildendorf." [4] This probably

[1] Hesse-Darmstadt, and Zweibrücken in the Rhenish Palatinate.

[2] Ralph Beaver Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Morristown, Penna.), I (1934), 620, 622, 625; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IV (Harrisburg, 1851), 306-7; see Appendix I.

[3] T. J. C. Williams and Folger McKinsey, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, Md., 1910), II, 1047. Information apparently supplied by a grandson, Nicholas Hauer (1817-1912). See App. III.

[4] This Bible is now in the "Barbara Frietchie House," Frederick. See App. II.

was the village of Dillendorf [5] near Simmern, about thirty kilometers west of Bingen and fifty kilometers south-west of Coblentz, between the Rhine and the Moselle. In the middle of the eighteenth century this region was part of the principality of Nassau-Saarbrücken.[6] We know nothing about Hauer's wife except her Christian name. Her maiden name may have been Ziegler.[7] It has been assumed that they came to this country as a married couple,[8] but the ship's record lists only adult males, with no mention of their wives, and there is no record of their marriage.[9]

Niklaus Hauer is said to have gone to Frederick, Maryland, and to have moved later to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but there is no evidence to support this.[10] We know little of his stay in Lancaster, except that while there, he and his wife had four children, Catherine, born October 16, 1760; Jacob, born March 12, 1762; Maria, born March 6, 1765; and Barbara, born December 3, 1766.[11] The Hauers had three other sons, Daniel, Henry and George, and another daughter, Margaret, all born in Frederick.[12]

The family moved to Frederick at an unknown date, between 1766, when Barbara was born, and March, 1775, when their son George was born in Frederick.[13] When Barbara died in 1862, her obituary said she had "removed to this city as a child."[14] She was confirmed in Frederick in 1782.[15] In 1782, Nicholas Hauer, and a Daniel Hauer, probably his brother, purchased land in Frederick from the estate of Daniel Dulany, Nicholas having

[5] Ritter, *Geographisch-Statistisches Lexikon*, I (A-K), (Leipzig, 1910), p. 570.
[6] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed. (New York, 1929), XIX, 784.
[7] The name is preserved by tradition as Catherine Zealer or Zeiler. See Eleanor Abbott, *A Sketch of Barbara Fritchie, Whittier's Heroine*, 3d ed. (Frederick, 1937), p. 7, and App. III.
[8] Williams and McKinsey, *loc. cit.*
[9] The staff of the Pennsylvania Historical Society kindly examined their marriage records and their lists of indentured servants, but were unable to find the Hauer family on any of the lists.
[10] Williams and McKinsey, loc. cit..
[11] MS Baptismal Records of the First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Penna., II. Barbara's birth is recorded on p. 56. This information, together with all other material from the archives of this church, has been communicated to us by Miss Elizabeth Kieffer, a librarian of Franklin and Marshall College and archivist of the church.
[12] See App. III.
[13] MS Records of the German Reformed Church, Frederick (Transcription, Maryland Historical Society), I, 128. They were probably already living there in 1773, date of the Ziegler baptism. See App. III.
[14] Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, Dec. 27, 1862.
[15] MS Records G. R. Ch., Fred., III, 1037.

paid £ 5-7-9 for "lot 344."[16] In 1788, we find him established as a hatter, a trade carried on after him by his son and grandson.[17] The census shows Nicholas and Daniel Hauer[18] to have been residents in Frederick in 1790, each with large families.[19] Nicholas died on December 11, 1799,[20] supposedly while visiting one of his daughters in Kentucky.

There is no reliable information about Barbara Hauer from her confirmation in 1782 until her marriage, on May 18, 1806, to John Casper Frietschie.[21] Her husband had been born in 1780[22] and was thus fourteen years younger than his bride, who was only nine years younger than the groom's mother. His parents were Casper and Susanna Weishaaren Frietschie, concerning whose early life nothing is known. They had been married in Frederick on September 17, 1772, the bride being only fifteen years of age.[23] They had children bapitized in the Lutheran Church in 1775, 1776, 1778 and 1780.[24] The marriage of Barbara Hauer, who was almost forty, to the youngest son of this Lutheran family, has never attracted much attention. It appears, however, that the Frietschie family had been involved in a treason scandal some years before Barbara's marriage, and this fact, combined with the youth of the groom, who was twenty-six, may have had some influence on Barbara's emotional life in later years.

In 1781, shortly after the birth of this son, Casper Frietschie became involved in a loyalist plot.[25] On June 9, 1781, a number

[16] See App. III.

[17] Mr. Parsons Newman, attorney-at-law, Frederick, owns a bill for hatter's supplies made out to Nicholas Hauer, dated 1788.

[18] Daniel Hauer came to Philadelphia from "Lothringen" in 1770, and settled in Frederick the following year. He gave this information to Jacob Engelbrecht in 1827, who recorded it in his diary on July 6, 1827. We were permitted to examine this extremely interesting diary through the kindness of its present owner, grandson and namesake of the original Engelbrecht.

[19] Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*: Maryland (Washington, 1901), p. 67. The family of "Nicholas Hower" included six free adult males, four free females, and two slaves.

[20] MS Records G. R. Ch., Fred., I, 343. See App. III.

[21] *Ibid.*, III, 1128; see App. II. This spelling of the name has been adopted as the form closest to the original, but none of the many variations used by members of the family appears to have been consistently followed.

[22] MS Records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frederick (transcription, Maryland Historical Society), II, 679. The date is given as January 25, 1780. The inscription on his tombstone gave his age as sixty-nine on November 10, 1849.

[23] She was confirmed the following year in the Lutheran Church at the age of sixteen. *Ibid.*, 199, 376.

[24] *Ibid.*, II, 635, 636, 665, 679.

[25] *Archives of Maryland*, XLV (Baltimore, 1927), 467, 469; XLVII (1930), 297, 328-330. He was arrested, family tradition says, because he had repaired

of warrants were issued, but were not served immediately, since more information was being sought by an officer who was pretending to be in the plot. A law was being rushed through at Annapolis "for the trial of spies," which would include "such as join the enemy." A special court was held in Frederick, after efforts to transfer the case to Hagerstown to avoid demonstrations on behalf of the prisoners, of whom there were one hundred in the Frederick jail on June 21. The plot seems to have been a scheme to persuade people not to oppose the British army, to help the British with provisions, wagons, and horses, and to cooperate with the British fleet, which was to send help to them at Georgetown. Orendorf, the officer who posed as a plotter, testified that Casper Frietschie was the commanding officer of the group, and that he had told Orendorf that he had been chosen because of his long residence in New York.[26] Another witness said that Frietschie held the rank of colonel. There is no record of the testimony of any of the accused. The *Maryland Journal*[27] gives the only contemporary record of the sentence which we have been able to find. After several of the conspirators were pardoned, Casper Frietschie, Yost Blecker and Peter Sueman were hanged, drawn and quartered on August 17, 1781. There is reason to believe that some of the Frietschie children were taken into the Hauer home[28] and if so, Barbara's future husband may have been brought up by her family. A receipt dated 1809 recently came to light,[29] containing the signature of John Casper Frietschie as clerk in the general store on Patrick street in Frederick owned by the Mantz family. The Quynn family also held an interest in this store and later owned it entirely. Some of Barbara's family married into these two families. The responsibility which the

saddles for British soldiers. He was immediately sentenced and shot the following morning, although his wife had ridden all night in an effort to have the execution stayed, and had arrived with a reprieve from General Washington a few minutes too late. The records show that the arrest, trial, and execution covered a period of over two months, and that there was a deliberate delay, rather than haste. Frietschie was a traitor only because a retroactive law, passed for that purpose, classified him as such. The only dishonorable act we have been able to find was his becoming an "Associator" of the Committee of Observation of the middle district of Frederick in 1775-6, despite his "Loyalism," and he was probably forced to do this in self-defense. (See "Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick Co., Maryland," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XI (1916), 166.

[26] We have found no evidence of his sojourn in New York.

[27] Baltimore, Tuesday, August 28, 1781.

[28] Caroline Wells Dall, *Barbara Frietchie* (New York, 1892), p. 28-9. The Hauers were neighbors of the Frietschies. See App. III.

[29] Now owned by the writers.

Hauers are said to have assumed for the Frietschie children may have been shared by their relatives. John Casper Frietschie later went into the leather business in partnership with Henry Handschuh. They were established in Frietschie's house on Patrick street.

The history of Barbara Hauer Frietschie is an uneventful one, unless we accept the decidedly questionable stories connected with her girlhood. These are considered here only because of their firm establishment as part of the Barbara Frietschie legend.[30] Nothing at all is known of Barbara as a girl and there is not a shred of proof of the extremely unlikely rumors of her education in a Baltimore finishing school and of her charm and place in Frederick society. Dr. Walter Steiner, son of one of Barbara's old friends, says that his father had thought her " to be a very ignorant German woman " and that he had been greatly surprised to discover that she could write her name on a document which he had prepared for her signature by making her mark.[31]

Two stories have been widely accepted. One relates that in June, 1791, Barbara was at an afternoon quilting party at Kimball's Tavern, when George Washington arrived. The young ladies prepared to entertain the distinguished guest, bringing out the best linen and china. " There was nothing quite suitable from which to serve coffee " so Barbara went home and got her " Staffordshire coffee pot, which her parents brought from Germany in 1754." Washington was so pleased with her " charm of manner " that he produced a Lowestoft china bowl from his bag and presented it to her.[32] The only tangible evidence is the coffee-pot, which does not lend plausibility to the tale.

According to the editor of Washington's *Diary*, the President spent the night of June 30, 1791 in Frederick, stopping at Brother's Tavern,[33] and not at the Kimball's Tavern of the legend. Washington recorded that he had arrived at sundown, having dined elsewhere. He mentioned no entertainment of any kind, and seems to have seen no one, for he spoke of an address *sent* him by the people of Frederick,[34] to which he replied in writing after

[30] These stories are repeated by Eleanor Abbott, *Sketch* . . . , p. 8-9.
[31] Walter R. Steiner, " The Story of Barbara Fritchie," reprinted from *Proceedings of the Charaka Club*, X (Hartford, Conn. 1941), p. 5.
[32] Abbott, 8-9.
[33] John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Diaries of George Washington* (Boston and New York, 1925), IV, 201.
[34] The address is among the Washington papers in the Library of Congress.

he left. Eighteenth century etiquette could hardly have sanctioned the entertainment, in the evening, at an inn, of any man of national importance, much less the President of the United States, by an unmarried woman of twenty-four, even if the local celebrity worshippers had been willing to concede such a privilege as a reward for her concealment of a deplorable lack of coffee-pots in the town hostelry. They, it will be remembered, had to be content with writing and sending an address. Nor is it likely that Washington encumbered his baggage with china bowls for presentation to attractive young women. The Staffordshire coffee-pot, although appreciated today for its quaintness, was not of the luxury type of china of that day, but of ordinary pottery of a kind made for the colonial trade. There is little possibility that it had ever been in Germany, for English ware was not ordinarily exported to Germany in the eighteenth century. It might have been purchased in England during the stopover there, but both the possible dates, and what we know of the conditions of immigration make this unlikely. At least one expert [35] is convinced that the coffee-pot could not have been made earlier than the first quarter of the nineteenth century, ten to thirty years after Washington's visit.

The other tale concerns the memorial services held after Washington's death, on February 22, 1800. In Frederick the procession followed the general plan of a military funeral,—troops, a draped horse with empty saddle, etc., but with the addition of " sixteen young ladies dressed in mourning, representing the sixteen states of the Union." [36] We have found no contemporary account of this ceremony, but the secondary accounts agree, and in no case do they list any of the " young ladies " except in Miss Abbott's brochure, where it is said that " Miss Barbara Hauer represented Maryland." [37] For such a ceremony the selection of " young ladies " could hardly have included one of thirty-three. Claims of the early fame of Barbara Hauer are not only without documentary basis, but judged in the light of eighteenth century procedure, they seem highly improbable.

From Barbara's marriage in 1806 until her husband's death in

[35] Mr. Marshall Etchison of Frederick, Md. A member of the staff of the Metropolitan Museum of New York has informed us that he agrees with this opinion.

[36] Abbott, p. 9; Williams and McKinsey, I, 138.

[37] Miss Abbott informed us that this was given on the authority of her mother, a daughter of one of Mrs. Frietschie's nieces.

1849 [38] we have no record of her whatever. Except for minor legacies to relatives and to a servant, the estate of her husband went to his wife's niece, the widow receiving the use of it for life. The executor was Albert Ritchie.[39] Dr. Lewis Steiner has said that there had been trouble with the " executor, Valerius Ebert," over payments due Mrs. Frietschie,[40] but the will does not confirm this, nor does it confirm the statement of Ebert himself that he was executor.

The census of 1850 showed Barbara as head of her family, the other member being Harriet Yoner, aged forty. Miss Yoner was her companion after Catherine Stover married Henry Handschuh in 1825.[41]

The question of Barbara's health during her last years is an important one, since it is related to the flag incident. Valerius Ebert has testified that in September, 1862, she was bed-ridden, helpless and unable to move, and that she had been in that condition for some time.[42] Another supposed witness claimed that on September 7, 1862, she had been so ill that the sacrament had to be taken to her house.[43] Of great importance in this connection

[38] The date was November 9, 1849, according to the inscription on his tombstone in the German Reformed Churchyard. Early in 1849, Frietschie purchased a lot in this cemetery although he himself was a Lutheran. The deed is owned by the writers and is on deposit in the Duke University Library.

[39] Court House, Frederick, MS Liber TS, no. 1, fol. 44.

[40] Dall, pp. 32, 72-3. Mrs. Dall collected much of her information by means of conversations with Dr. Lewis Steiner, later the distinguished librarian of the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore. Although she wrote from memory some years later, some of her facts seem to be reliable and cannot be ignored. Dr. Steiner told Mrs. Dall that his father, Christian Steiner, had taken over the management of Mrs. Frietschie's affairs in 1858. This is independently corroborated by Dr. Walter Steiner (See note 31 above). The reason given was the difficulty in dealing with Valerius Ebert. In the absence of contemporary evidence about Ebert, it seems more likely that the death of Albert Ritchie, who had been named executor in Frietschie's will, necessitated the appointment of a new agent, and that Christian Steiner was selected. We find that Ritchie's death occurred in 1858. It is possible, of course, that Ebert was appointed agent, or that his appointment had been contemplated, but there is no evidence of this (Court House, Frederick, MS GH, no. 1, fol. 284).

[41] U. S. Census Bureau, MS, Frederick County, Maryland, 1850. Mrs. Frietschie's age is erroneously given as seventy-nine. Both women were nieces. Mrs. Handschuh (Hanshew, Henshaw), had married Frietschie's partner in the glove business, which was conducted in the Frietschie house. We find no evidence that Mrs. Handschuh was the adopted daughter of the Frietschies, as Miss Abbott believed to be the case. The name of the other niece in question is given as Henrietta Yoner (Jahner) in John Casper Frietschie's will and in his wife's, but it was listed as Harriet in the census, and this is the traditional form preserved in Frederick today.

[42] M. A. Jackson, *Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson* (Louisville, Ky., 1895), p. 334; V. Ebert, in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, VII (1879), p. 438-9.

[43] Quoted by Conrad Reno, " General Jesse Lee Reno in Frederick," in *Military*

is the testimony of Jacob Engelbrecht, a friend of Barbara and of many of her relatives, a staunch Union man. He lived opposite her on West Patrick Street. On December 3, 1862, after the flag incident, and two weeks before her death, he recorded in his diary the birthday of his friend, Mrs. Frietschie, saying that she was " very active for her age."

The Evangelical Reformed Church of Frederick has a record of Barbara Frietschie's participation in communion from February, 1858 until her death.[44] We have no information as to why the record begins in 1858, and it is not clear whether her absence on some occasions has any significance. In this Church it is customary for members to receive communion on four regular occasions during the year and at no other time. Of the nineteen communion services between the dates indicated, she attended eight. On two, possibly three occasions, in January and probably at Easter, 1859, and on Whitsunday, 1862, she is listed as sick. This means that she received the sacrament at home, in bed. She last appeared for communion at her church on December 29, 1861, almost a year before her death.[45] According to these records, there was no communion on September 7, 1862. She received the sacrament for the last time, and at home, on Whitsunday, which in 1862 fell on June 8.[46] Her condition may well have improved between June 8 and September 6, and she may have been able to move about enough to wave a flag from her door or window at that time, even if such behaviour had been forbidden as unwise for this invalid of ninety-six. The testimony of Valerius Ebert as to the exact degree of her incapacity is wholly undependable,

Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Massachusetts Commandery, Civil War Papers (Boston, 1900) p. 556, as follows: ". . . One man has even gone so far as to state that upon Sunday, Sept 7, 1862, she was so ill that he was obliged to carry the sacrament from the Church to her house. This charge, however, has been refuted by several well-known citizens of Frederick who were personally acquainted with Barbara Frietschie, and who saw her daily during the time the Confederates occupied the town."

This story about the sacrament has been widely circulated in Frederick and is always quoted there as the most reliable evidence against Whittier's story. We have found only one version in print, the one quoted above. The acccount used in Frederick today is that of a Mr. Frank Rhodes, who is said to have accompanied the minister, Dr. Zacharias, when he went to Mrs. Frietschie's house.

[44] Notes from the communion records have been given us by the Reverend Henri L. G. Kieffer, minister of the Evangelical Reformed Church.

[45] She made her will on March 4, 1862. Court House, Frederick, MS Liber APK, fol. 230, no. 1.

[46] In our opinion it was the communion of June 8 which Mr. Rhodes meant. Either he, or those to whom he related the incident, may have recalled this as evidence of serious illness, without remembering or checking the dates involved.

in view of her antipathy for him,[47] and the possibility that she may have feigned illness in order to avoid seeing him.

Mrs. Frietschie died December 18, 1862, and was buried beside her husband in the Reformed Church cemetery. Jacob Engelbrecht entered these facts in his diary, together with the names of the pallbearers, of whom he was one.[48]

Barbara Frietschie's house went to her niece, " Mrs. Catherine Hanshew," with the reservation that Miss Yoner, the niece who lived with her at the time of her death, might continue to live there. Her nephew Nicholas, son of Daniel Hauer, her brother, was her executor.[49]

On April 11, 1866, the house was sold to George Eissler.[50] He was much annoyed by visitors who appeared at the door asking to be shown through the house.[51] Then in 1868, the waters of Carroll Creek, which flowed by the house, rose to such a height that a part of the building was washed away. The following year the town corporation decided to avoid a repetition of the disaster, and ordered the condemnation of the house which stood on ground which had to be removed to widen the creek.[52] There seems to be nothing to the story that they razed the house in order to destroy the memory of Barbara Frietschie.[53] Some of the wood from the timbers was made into canes. Whittier[54] and General Cox each possessed one, and there is at least one in Frederick.

The house which now bears the label " Barbara Frietschie's House " was built in 1926. According to a Frederick writer in the Baltimore *Sun*,[55] it is different in size and number of rooms

[47] Dall, p. 33.

[48] Entry dated Dec. 22, 1862. An obituary appeared in the Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, December 24, 1862.

[49] See her will. Nicholas Hauer was an active citizen of Frederick, where he died in 1912. He probably knew more about his aunt than anyone else, but no one seems to have consulted him about her. Barbara Frietschie was survived by a large number of nephews and nieces. One grandchild of her brother Daniel is still living in Frederick, and four others have died recently. None of these relatives has taken any part in the controversy, which has been confined largely to the descendants of one of Mrs. Frietschie's sisters, through Mrs. Handschuh, and her daughter and grand-daughter, Mrs. Abbott and Miss Eleanor Abbott.

[50] Deed, Court House, Frederick, MS Liber JWLC, fol. 700, no. 3.

[51] *U. S. Army and Navy Journal* (New York, July 20, 1867), IV, 759; *Weekly Examiner and Express* (Lancaster, Penna.), July 21, 1886.

[52] Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht, April 8, 1869.

[53] Cf. Dall, p. 58.

[54] Samuel T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston and New York, 1894), I, 273-4.

[55] Harry Haller, in Baltimore *Sun*, Sunday, June 17, 1937.

from the original house. Various relics have been collected, and are on display there. Another collection belongs to the original hostess, Miss Eleanor Abbott, who left in 1934, and moved her relics to her home on Market street.

II. The Flag Episode

The second battle of Bull Run having ended successfully for the Confederacy on September 2, 1862, General Lee headed north the next day for an invasion of Maryland. On September 5 and 6 the army crossed the Potomac.[56] Jackson's command was in the lead and reached Three Springs the night of the fifth, where they camped. The next day, Saturday, September 6, they arrived in the vicinity of Frederick in the morning, and established quarters "near its suburbs."[57] Probably most of the soldiers were to the south of the town along the Washington road or Georgetown Pike, as it was called then. During the occupation of Frederick, the cavalry stayed at Urbana, about six miles south of the town. Headquarters for the entire army was set up in a grove of trees south of Frederick.[58] A Confederate officer[59] wrote in his Diary: "We are encamped (the two reserve batteries of Washington Artillery) in a beautiful grove of oaks. On one side of us the headquarters of Gen. Longstreet are established, and with him is Gen. Lee. On the other side Stonewall has pitched his tents." General Lee dated his reports during the occupation "two miles

[56] *Official Records of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1887), 1st series, XIX, pt. 1, p. 839, 952-3, 965-6. This ford is not indicated on the campaign maps published in a separate volume to accompany the *Official Records*. There is shown, however, on the map for the Maryland campaign, a Nolan's ferry or ford, a few miles northwest of the mouth of the Monacacy in the direction of Point of Rocks.

[57] *Ibid.*, XIX, pt. 1, p. 952-3.

[58] Identified as Best's Grove by H. K. Douglas in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884-8), II, 620.

[59] William Miller Owen, *In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery of New Orleans . . .* (Boston, 1885), p. 131-2. He adds: "Jackson's 'foot-cavalry' has been here before us, and has gobbled all the plunder; but we found a grocer, a good, sensible fellow with 'rebel sympathies,' and we invested a few hundred dollars 'Confederate script' in coffee, sugar, whiskey, Scotch ale, champagne and a few other 'necessaries of life,' much to the disgust of his partner . . . who felt remarkably sore when the last of his stock of groceries was exchanged for Confederate notes. We told him when Maryland began to 'burn,' they would be good in New York for gold.

"Oh, what a time we had in camp that night! Oh, my! Green corn dinners, hard marches, thirst and fatigue,—all were forgotten. 'Champagne flowed like water' (not too much water, but just enough), the 'crystal goblets were filled to the brim' and we 'sipped the nectar' and felt mighty good, not to express it in stronger terms. Final result, by a mental calculation, a headache in the early dawn; but a plunge in the cold waters of the Monacacy brought us about all right again."

from Fredericktown "[60] but the grove in question seems to have been near Frederick Junction, three miles south of the town.[61] Early's command was detached to guard the bridges over the Monocacy at Frederick Junction.[62] Jones' Brigade, commanded by Colonel B. T. Johnson, was posted in the town as a provost guard.[63] In none of the official reports is mention made of any troops quartered north of the town. According to Dr. Lewis H. Steiner,[64] who was inspector for the Union Sanitary Commission in Frederick during the occupation, five thousand men of Jackson's forces encamped north of the town, possibly at Worman's Mill, about two and a half miles from the center of Frederick.[65] General Lee issued a special order [66] to the effect that all officers and men were forbidden to visit Frederick except on business. One biographer of Lee says that troops were ordered to treat all those who professed Union sentiments " with kindness and consideration." [67]

Jackson had been injured by a fall from horseback soon after entering Maryland and therefore rested at his quarters near Frederick Junction during Saturday and Sunday. On Sunday evening, September 7, he went to Frederick in an ambulance—still unable to ride—to attend service at his own church, the Presbyterian. The Church being closed that evening, Jackson went to the Reformed Church, perhaps because of the similarity between the services, of which Jackson may have been aware because of the great number of Pennsylvania Germans in the Valley of Virginia. Certainly Jackson could not have expected the same cordial welcome which he would have received in the Presbyterian Church, of which the minister was a friend of his wife's family. It is said that Jackson slept through the service [68] and did not

[60] *Official Records*, XIX, pt. 1, p. 9139.

[61] Military Order of the Loyal Legion . . . Mass. Commandery, *Civil War Papers*, II, 560.

[62] *Official Records*, XIX, pt. 1, p. 965-6. [63] *Ibid.*, XIX, pt. 1, p. 952-3.

[64] *Report of Lewis Steiner, M. D. . . . Containing a Diary Kept during the Occupation of Frederick, Md.* (New York, 1862), p. 7-8. The Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, September 24, 1862, confirms this, reporting that some of Jackson's men under General Johnson, went through the town with " twenty-two pieces of artillery " and encamped at Worman's Mill. On another page of the same issue, but dated September 10, the paper states that the town " was quiet but swarmed with dirty and ragged soldiers " on Sunday, September 7.

[65] Williams and McKinsey, I, 377, and Abbott, p. 14, also mention Worman's Mill, but without giving sources.

[66] *Official Records*, XIX, pt. 2, p. 603 (no. 191). Confederate and Union sources suggest that it was not universally obeyed. Cf. notes 59 and 64 above.

[67] Emily V. Mason, *Popular Life of General R. E. Lee* (Baltimore, 1872), p. 136.

[68] Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, September 24, 1862.

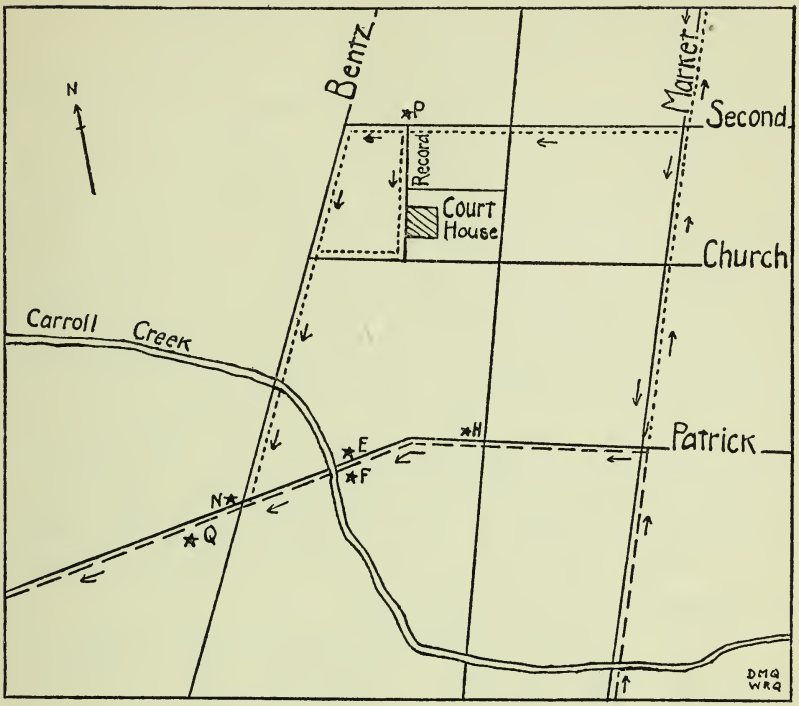
hear the prayer for the President of the United States and the hymn which condemns rebels. Perhaps the only glimpse that Barbara Frietschie ever had of General Jackson was in the Reformed Church that Sunday night, providing that she was well enough to go to Church at that time, for it seems extremely unlikely that she ever laid eyes on him elsewhere in Frederick.

General Jackson returned to camp that night after church, and did not go back to Frederick until the early morning of Wednesday, September 10, when the army left Frederick on its way west to Martinsburg, Boonsboro, South Mountain and Hagerstown. Early that morning Jackson went to Frederick, stopped at the center of town and inquired the way to various places in Pennsylvania in order to mislead people as to his real objective.[69] He then must have ridden up North Market Street to Second Street and there turned west. He stopped at the house of the Reverend Dr. Ross, the Presbyterian minister, whom he had not been able to see the preceding Sunday night. Dr. Ross was not yet up, so that Jackson left a note with the servant who had come to the door, expressing regret.[70] He then probably continued a short distance west on Second Street to the intersection of Mill Alley, or Bentz Street, turned south and reached Patrick Street, the main line of march for the army going west, where Bentz Street or Mill Alley crosses it, about sixty yards west of Barbara Frietschie's house.[71] He could have reached this point by following Record Street south to Church, then turning west on Church to Mill Alley. Barbara's house was probably visible from the point where Jackson rejoined his men, the intersection of Patrick and Bentz streets, mentioned above.

[69] Military Order of the Loyal Legion, *op. cit.*, II, 560.

[70] Dr. Ross resigned his position in November, 1862, because his strong Confederate sympathies were distasteful to his congregation. (Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht, November 5, 1862.) Jackson's visit may have called attention to this attitude. It is even possible that Jackson may have hoped for information or other help from a trusted friend, and that Dr. Ross, knowing this, and fearing results, kept out of reach.

[71] Various authors who have written on the subject of Jackson's passage through Frederick have confused the facts about the disposition of the troops in the town, the direction from which they came, and the time they came through. Among these are Nixdorff, Williams and McKinsey, and Caroline Dall, all cited above. Mrs. Dall published a map of the surroundings of the Frietschie house, drawn from memory, and very inaccurate. For those not familiar with Frederick, it should be explained that Patrick street, the principal east and west artery, is the road from Baltimore to the west; Market street, the main north and south thoroughfare, is the road from Washington to Gettysburg. These two streets intersect at approximately the center of the town.



Map of the center of Frederick (1862)

---Route of main Confederate army, entering by South Market Street, leaving by West Patrick Street

·····Possible routes of Jackson and detachments

Houses: F = Frietschie E = Engelbrecht H = N. Hauer

N = Nixdorff Q = Quantrell P = Presbyterian Manse

As Jackson's command was to go further than the rest of the army, that is, to Martinsburg, they left first, preceded by their commanding officer. If a part of his troops did encamp north of Frederick, they could have taken the route which he followed as he came back to Patrick Street from the Presbyterian manse, or they may have gone south on Market Street to Patrick and then turned west. The rest of Jackson's men, and in fact the rest of the Confederate army, which had been quartered south of Frederick on the Washington road, must have come north on Market Street as far as Patrick, and there turned west to take the road to Hagerstown. Thus we see that most of the Confederate infantry force probably went past Barbara Frietschie's house. Of this force only General Jackson and a few of his men did not pass the house. General Lee and various other officers must have passed it, since it lay on the most direct route from the Washington road to the Hagerstown road. The main body of the army could, of course, have turned west on either All Saints or South streets, but contemporary accounts point to the fact that they went west on Patrick Street. Just why the Barbara Frietschie story has attached itself to Jackson, the only Confederate infantry officer who did not pass the house, it is impossible to say.

It is worth noting that during the occupation of Frederick there were a great many incidents involving flags. Newspapers of the time reported that Confederate troops had tied confiscated Union flags to their horses' tails and dragged them through the dust.[72] Several Baltimore and Washington papers of Union sympathies carried stories about women who had hidden their flags in Bibles or about their persons in order to save them.[73] None mentioned the Barbara Frietschie story, and one reported:

> Some of the female rebel sympathizers made themselves both obnoxious and ridiculous by their absurd demonstrations and spiteful spirit. . . . The loyal ladies of Frederick conducted themselves during the rebel occupancy with marked fitness and propriety. They neither denied their devotion

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[72] *Maryland Union* (Frederick), September 18, 1862; Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser*, September 12, 1862; Baltimore *Clipper*, September 10, 1862. Practically all papers which we have examined in Baltimore, Washington and New York for this period have been mutilated. We have found no complete issues, but only badly labelled clippings in Frederick. We cannot therefore state that our examination has been exhaustive, although it has been as complete as we could make it.

[73] Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 15, 1862; Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser*, September 15, 1862; Baltimore *Clipper*, September 15, 1862; Baltimore *Sun*, September 15, 1862.

to the cause of their country, nor sought notoriety by parading it unnecessarily. At the proper time and in the proper way, they let the invaders know that they were unwelcome visitors.[74]

This at least implies that there were no incidents which attracted attention.[75] From a Confederate source [76] we have a statement that "those who had to march through the town had a varied reception. Some women brought out food; others held their noses and waved the Union flag."

There are two references to the deed of Barbara Frietschie, one contemporary, the other possibly so, neither being sufficiently definite to be dependable. The first was furnished by Dr. Lewis Steiner, a friend of Barbara Frietschie, whose diary was submitted to the Commission as a report.[77] He mentioned the practice of tying flags to the tails of horses, as well as a number of unconfirmed atrocity stories. He also wrote:

A clergyman tells me that he saw an aged crone come out of her house as certain rebels passed by, trailing the American flag in the dust. She shook her long, skinny hands at the traitors and screamed at the top of her voice: "My curses be upon you and your officers for degrading your country's flag." [78]

In view of the language used, Steiner can scarcely have intended this to be a reference to his friend, Mrs. Frietschie.[79]

The other case is less reliable. Among the fragments of Whittier correspondence in a collection made by his biographer, Pickard, is a part of a letter written to Whittier by an unidentified Confederate officer. It contains the following passage:

[74] *Intelligencer*, September 17, 1862.

[75] We have been unable to find any Frederick papers of these dates, probably because the Confederates destroyed the newspaper office. A diary kept at the Quynn hardware store, formerly the Mantz store, on Patrick street, which was owned and operated by a nephew of Barbara Frietschie, made no reference to the affair. It mentioned the entrance of the Confederate army on September 6, its departure on the 10th, and the arrival of the Union soldiers on the 13th. This diary is now in the Artz Library in Frederick.

There is an account of the occupation of Frederick in the *Examiner* for September 24, 1862. It mentions Jackson's having attended church and sleeping through the service. It states that a large flag was torn down at the residence of Mr. D. F. Smith, tied to the tails of two cavalry horses and trailed through the streets. It also mentions a demonstration staged by two women of Southern sympathies.

[76] J. J. McDaniels, *Diary of Battles, Marches and Incidents of the Seventh South Carolina Regiment* (n. p., 1862?), p. 10-11.

[77] *Report of Lewis Steiner, M. D. . . .*

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[79] Mrs. Dall (p. 28) said that he had told her confidentially that he did. If so, it must have been a conclusion which he reached after publishing his report.

Amongst the subjects discussed at table I remember distinctly the displaying or flying of a Federal flag on the line of march through the city was talked of . . . that it was held or displayed by a woman or women, and that he [Captain Stark] let it alone.[80]

This is probably more reliable than the letters collected by interested persons after the controversy became bitter. Since we know neither the date nor the name of the writer, we cannot consider this good evidence. Its value is somewhat enhanced by the vagueness of the report, since it does not appear to be an effort to identify the writer with the incident.

Whether or not Union flags continued to fly throughout the occupation, they were much in evidence when the Union troops entered Frederick on September 13. According to the contemporary accounts: "All along the streets through which our troops passed flags were waved from windows and housetops, and the sidewalks were lined with spectators a full representation of which were ladies." And again, "The loyalty of Frederick is most determined. It flutters out in hundreds of flags from all parts of the sky." [81]

It is generally admitted that Barbara Frietschie was among those who greeted the Union soldiers with flags when they entered Frederick on September 13. General Reno undoubtedly talked with her on his way through Frederick on the day before the Battle of Antietam. He rode up to her house and was given the large flag which had been flying from her window, supposedly for some days. When General Reno was killed in action at Antietam, the flag was used to cover his coffin but was removed by the family after his funeral. Since the General's brother was with him when he received the flag, and later preserved it, the story comes on reasonably good authority. The possession of this flag by the Reno family has caused some confusion, since Miss Abbott believes she has the authentic flag waved by Barbara. She says that her great-aunt gave a flag to General Reno, but not the one she had waved.[82] Presumably it was the flag displayed from the window,

[80] A copy of this fragment was kindly sent us by Mr. Thomas Franklin Currier, honorary curator in the Harvard Library. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Currier for advice about Whittier materials and correspondence.

[81] Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 15, 1862, "News from Frederick"; *Ibid.*, September 17, 1862.

[82] The account comes from Colonel B. F. Reno, a younger brother, who was a witness. Colonel Reno related it to Conrad Reno, the General's son, who recorded it in Military Order of the Loyal Legion, *op. cit.*, II (1900), 553-569. Miss Abbott related her version to one of the writers on July 11, 1942.

although this cannot be established. The fact remains that the large flag, although of bunting, fits Whittier's description better than does the small silk one now preserved by Miss Abbott in her house on Market street in Frederick. In view of the fact that Barbara did not become famous until a year after her death, there is a possible question about the authenticity of the small flag. There is much more reason to accept the story about Reno's flag, since the death of the general and the use of the flag at his funeral gave the family reasons for its preservation before the poem was written. It seems certain, then, that Barbara waved her flag at the Union forces as they passed through Frederick. If so, she was one of many women who did this. The only spectacular thing about the performance was her extreme age.

It is possible, of course, that she waved her flag at the Confederates as well. As the army moved up Patrick street to the corner of Mill Alley where Jackson awaited his detachment to take the lead, it is not improbable that there was a halt in front of her house, since it was only about sixty yards from the intersection.[83] Undoubtedly there were some minor incidents of this kind, as there were later in Middletown and Boonsboro, where they were met with "a tolerant smile," [84] but in no case is there proof of Mrs. Frietschie's having taken part and there is no suggestion anywhere, except in the poem, that shooting occurred. The story of her ill-health and bed-ridden condition, so frequently referred to in Frederick today, is completely disproved by the contemporary testimony of her friend and neighbor, Jacob Engelbrecht, to the effect that she was in very good health at the time. And, as we have seen, there is no truth in the story that she received communion in bed while ill a few days before the event occurred. But from the same Jacob Engelbrecht, we have better evidence that she did not defy the Confederate army. On April 8, 1868, he

[83] It need scarcely be noted that halts offered opportunities for incidents which might be classified as "yoo-hoo, 1862." Owen, in *Camp and Battle* . . . , p. 133, gives the following example, which he says occurred in Frederick:

"The army passed through in good order, and all in the merriest and jolliest mood possible, indulging occasionally in good-natured chaff, as was their wont. . . . On a small gallery stood a buxom young lady, with laughing black eyes, watching the scene before her; on her breast she had pinned a small flag, the 'stars and stripes,' . . . some soldier sang out 'Look h'yar, Miss, better take that flag down; we're awful fond of charging breast-works.' This was carried down the line amid shouts of laughter."

[84] Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 136-7; J. A. Early, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, VII, 435.

wrote in his diary, apparently in answer to rumors circulating at the time:

> The 'Barbara Frichty' exploit as put in poetry by John G. Whittier of Vermont in regard to the displaying of the Union flag in the face of the Rebel Army . . . is *not true*. I do not believe one word of it. I live directly opposite and for three days I was nearly continually looking at the Rebel Army passing the door and nearly the whole army passed her door, and should anything like that have occurred I am certain some one in our family would have noticed it.

Jacob Engelbrecht, a Union sympathizer, and later mayor of Frederick, missed very little that happened if we may judge by his diary. It is unlikely that any altercation occurred in front of her house, both because he did not record it in 1862 and because of his emphatic denial in 1868. But if Barbara waved her flag without serious interference, even the Engelbrecht family might have missed it. If there had been shooting, a crowd would certainly have gathered.

There is another possible source which should be considered. Barbara's obituary in a Frederick paper spoke of her Union sympathies and of her having waved the flag to welcome the Union army on September 13. It did not mention the Southern army. This proves the existence of a story about her within three months after the event occurred, and before the writing of the poem.[85] But it limits the story to her welcome of the Union army.

It is possible that Barbara Frietschie may have developed in her old age a flag-waving complex. One of her neighbors said:[86] "She had early secured a United States flag, and often during the earlier part of the Rebellion . . . I have seen [it] . . . floating from her dormer window of her house, and my old neighbor standing beside the flag-staff looking intently at that . . . consecrated, blessed emblem." In this case she would certainly have been on hand when the Union troops appeared. If she was psychopathic,[87] as we think may have been the case, there was

[85] Frederick *Weekly Examiner*, December 24, 1862. A less complete obituary in the *Maryland Union* (Frederick, Md.) December 25, 1862, makes no mention of a flag episode. We have been assured by Judge Hammond Urner of Frederick, that his father, the late Milton G. Urner, member of Congress, heard the story of the flag episode "at Mrs. Frietschie's" on the evening of September 10, 1862, the day it is said to have occurred. Cf. Walter Steiner, *Proceedings of the Charaka Club*, X, 8.

[86] Nixdorff, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[87] Dr. M. H. Greenhill, of the Department of Psychiatry of the Duke University Medical School, whom we consulted, said that such behavior came in the class

nothing surprising about her supposed defiance of the Confederate army.[88]

III. The Poem

We are not here concerned with the literary worth of the poem. It is of interest only in so far as it shows what information the poet had at hand when he wrote the ballad. Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, of Georgetown, D. C., sent Whittier an outline of the story but gave no topographical details.

The town of Frederick lies in a valley running north and south, with hills about five miles to the west and another lower range somewhat further distant to the east. The "clustered spires" number five in all, and seen from the "mountain wall" to the west do give the impression of being close together. The "sunset light" does come through the "hill gaps" to the west. Frederick is surrounded by prosperous farms and orchards. But there the comparatively exact knowledge of the poet stops.

of rebellious actions indulged in by persons of her history, in so far as we know it. Her reputation for strong-willed, independent behavior, her extremely late marriage to a much younger man, whose family had been involved in a scandal which might ostracize them in "patriotic" company, all may have been contributing factors, if she was really psychopathic.

[88] Miss Abbott's brochure takes the stand that she waved at both armies, and she quotes a number of testimonials which she has collected, many of them undependable. Her own statements contain some contradictions. On page 13 she says, ". . . Many persons were eyewitnesses and testified that the Confederate Army, except Jackson and his staff and A. P. Hill's division, did pass the Fritchie house." On page 15 she cites the testimony of a "young man passing through Frederick" whose uncle "had witnessed the flagwaving" and had seen "Stonewall Jackson talking to Mrs. Fritchie:." On page 16 she attempts to prove that the person who waved the flag at the Union army "was the same woman who had waved her flag as Jackson came through." On page 17 she quotes Nixdorff, who implies that Jackson passed the house. She quotes Mrs. Frietschie, in language which implies an interview: "Mrs Fritchie's own account of the incident follows: It was early morning, September 10, 1862. The large bunting flag had not yet been placed in the dormer window as it was not quite seven o'clock. One of Mrs Hanshew's children came in, calling excitedly, 'Look out for your flag, the troops are coming!'. . . Thinking the Union troops were coming, she took her small flag from between the leaves of her family bible and stepped out on the front porch. Immediately one of the men came to her and told her she had better go in or she might be harmed. Realizing her mistake, and that she was in the midst of Confederate soldiers, she nevertheless refused to go in. Then a second soldier came and tried to take the flag from her saying that he wanted it to put at his horse's head. A third soldier threatened to shoot it out of her hand if she didn't go in. An officer rode forward, turned angrily upon the men and said, 'If you harm a hair of the old lady's head I'll shoot you down like a dog.' Then turning to the trembling old lady he said, 'Go on, Granny, wave your flag as much as you please. . . .' This is at best a paraphrase, related to Miss Abbott by Mrs. Edward Winebrenner (née Caroline Ebert, John Casper Frietschie's niece) in 1913. It is apparently the source for the statement of Dr. Walter Steiner that Caroline Ebert first told the story. (See Steiner, *Proceedings of the Charaka Club*, X, 10.)

Lee did not come east over the mountain wall (the Catoctin range), but north from the Potomac and then went west over the hills on the way to Antietam. The reference to

> Forty flags with their silver stars
> Forty flags with their crimson bars

is misleading, for they were obviously Union flags which were hauled down. " Stars and bars " usually meant Confederate flags. The flag described by Whittier as a " silken scarf " must have been of bunting, since it was large enough to be hung from a pole. This has led to a confusion, since Barbara is now said to have possessed two flags, a large bunting flag which she displayed from her window, and a small silk one which she held in her hand.

The errors in military detail have already been mentioned. The only fairly accurate knowledge that the poet possessed concerned the appearance of the town and the surrounding country. Where did he get this information?

While it is true that people who visit Frederick today almost invariably speak of the " clustered spires," it seems obvious that they do so only because of remembrance of the lines:

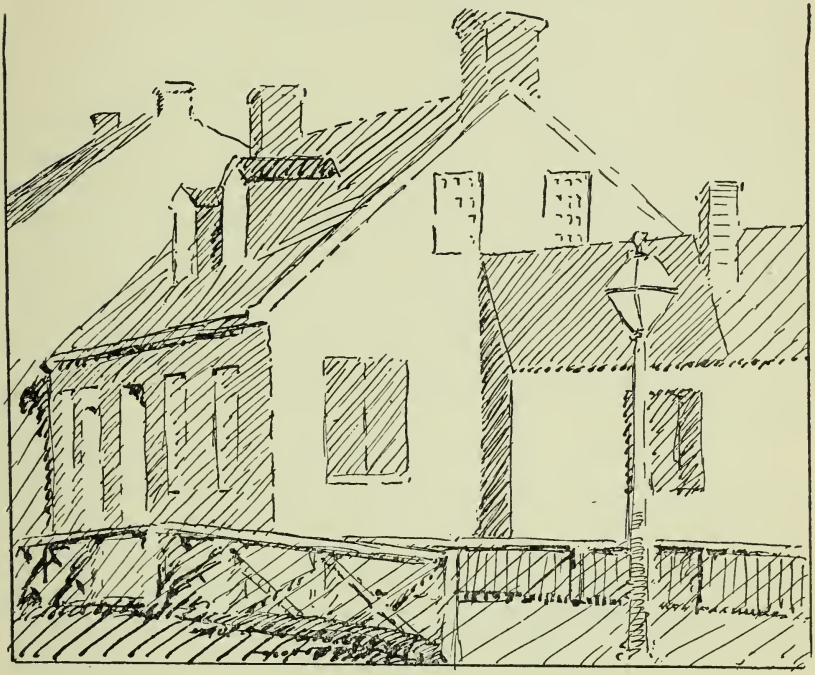
> The clustered spires of Frederick stand
> Green-walled by the hills of Maryland.

Actually the spires are not clustered, but form almost a straight line along two parallel streets. They appear clustered only if seen from the west as the Confederate army might have seen them had they paused in their retreat to the west. It is a curious fact, that almost the same words were used by Oliver Wendell Holmes less than a year before Whittier wrote his poem. Holmes had gone to Frederick in search of his son, the late Justice, who had been wounded in the battle of Antietam. The account [89] of his experiences included the following: " In approaching Frederick [from the west], the singular beauty of its clustered spires struck me very much . . . how gracefully, how charmingly its group of steeples nestles among the Maryland hills."

It is well known that Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote of this journey, and it has been pointed out as an argument against the Barbara Frietsche story that Holmes, who was in Frederick in

[89] Oliver Wendell Holmes, " My Hunt after ' The Captain,' " in *Pages from an Old Volume of Life* (Boston and New York, 1899), p. 16-17.

September, 1862, did not mention the episode.[90] But attention has never been called to the fact that Holmes' story originally appeared in the *Atlantic* in December, 1862, and that Whittier wrote his poem late in the summer of 1863, and published it, also in the *Atlantic*, in October. Both men were regular contributors to the magazine. Whittier must have seen Holmes' story,



The Frietschie House on Patrick Street, with bridge over Carroll Creek. Drawn from an old photograph made by the photographer Byerly, Barbara's cousin, shortly before the house was torn down.

both because it appeared in the *Atlantic*, and because it was the work of a friend. It is likely, too, that he talked with Holmes about Frederick, whether in casual conversation about Holmes' journey, or in a definite effort to obtain material for his poem. It is more than a coincidence that Whittier's description of the entrance into Frederick fits Holmes' return from Antietam to Frederick, from the west, better than Lee's entry from the south.

[90] *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, II, 618.

IV. Growth of the Legend

Whittier's poem appeared in October, 1863. He had apparently received a detailed account from Mrs. Southworth early in August, 1863. Her letter said that the story had gone " the round of the Washington papers last September," that " when Lee's army occupied Frederick, the only Union flag displayed in the city was held from an attic window by Mrs. Barbara Fritchie, a widow lady aged ninety-seven years." The rest of the story, Mrs. Southworth said, was obtained from friends who had been in Frederick at the time.[91] The story that Dorothea Dix was responsible for the information is false, and is due to the fact that she visited Frederick in 1865 and obtained a picture of Barbara Frietschie and some personal information about her, which she sent to Whittier.[92] She had doubtless read the poem and was aware of the poet's interest in the incident. Whittier believed that the story " had gained public credence in Washington and Maryland before my poem was written," but we have no reason to think that he ever saw any published account, except the quotation sent him by Mrs. Southworth." [93]

The first comment came from the South. About a month after the appearance of the poem, a satirical article was published in two Richmond papers,[94] reading in part as follows:

A likely story, truly. Frederick City, fair as a garden of the Lord to famished rebels; Jackson at the head of his columns, ordering his men to fire on a Dutch dame, ninety years old, because she hung a flag out of the garret window, and then blushing for shame because the bullets cut the flag clean away from the staff, and the nimble old harridan catches it as it fell, leans far out on the window sill and shakes it forth with a royal will, careless of the danger of losing her center of gravity and pitching headlong into the street. See the noble nature within him stirred at Dame Barbara's deed and word, and hear him thunder,

" Who touches a hair of yon gray head,
Dies like a dog! March on! he said."

Think, too, of the loyal winds upholding the flag they loved so well. The sun set light, bidding the flag good night, in pure Yankee accents,

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[91] Pickard, II, 454-6. See App. IV.
[92] John Albree, *Whittier Correspondence from the Oak Knoll Collections*, 1830-1892 (Salem, Mass., 1911), p. 152-3. See App. V.
[93] *Century*, X (September, 1886), 783 ff. See App. V.
[94] The Richmond *Examiner*, copied in the Richmond *Record*, November 26, 1863.

and drop a tear on Stonewall's bier for old Frietchie's sake, if you can; and if you cannot, employ a loyal onion to aid you in the pathetic task.

The uncultivated may pronounce this poem so much unadulterated and self-evident nonsense, but the wise, the gifted, the good, know that it will outlive and disprove all histories, however well authenticated. . . . Nay, there is danger lest the veritable countrymen of the poetaster will become excessively angry with everyone who dares to question Barbara Frietchie's unrivalled courage, or hesitates to believe that she was born of Yankee parents on both sides, in the center of a pumpkin patch in New Hampshire."

In the North, of course, the reaction was quite different. People began immediately to go to Frederick to visit the scene of Whittier's popular poem. Citizens of the town were annoyed by the questions of the visitors, to such an extent that Mrs. Dall, years later, came to the erroneous conclusion that the house had been pulled down to avoid visitors.[95] Benson J. Lossing said that he went there as early as 1866 to make investigations which he later published.[96] We have been able to find only one contemporary account of an early visit. In 1867 an anonymous contributor to the *Army and Navy Journal* made a " pilgrimage " to Frederick because of the enthusiastic interest of a member of his family in Barbara Frietschie. He wrote: [97]

Her house is a quaint but exceedingly attractive old-fashioned steep-rooved little structure with curious rear-buildings immediately on the bank of Carrol's Run. . . .

A German tailor who seemed to be a tenant of part of the house expressed disbelief in the story in anything but courteous language. . . . The heroine's nephew,[98] who keeps the City Hotel, could not have been more polite upon the subject, but he was very dubious.

Baffled . . . we applied for information to a gentleman whose distinguished connection with the maintenance service of the Army gave him every opportunity of knowing the truth. . . . (He said) the story is based upon something which by poetic fancy has been intensified into Whittier's exquisite poem.

He then continued with the story that Barbara had waved her flag at the Union troops and told of her meeting with General Reno.

General J. D. Cox, writing in 1900, said that he had visited

[95] Dall, p. 57-8.

[96] Lossing in *American Historical Record* (Philadelphia, 1872-4), II, 131. Lossing published a picture of the house, II, 497.

[97] *U. S. Army and Navy Journal*, IV (New York, 1867), 759.

[98] Probably Nicholas Hauer. See note 49 above.

Frederick with General Grant in 1869, and had found the Frietschie house torn down. General Cox was presented with a cane made from the timbers of the house. It was he who had ridden at the head of the Union column which had entered Frederick on September 13, 1862. He remembered the windows filled with ladies waving flags and handkerchiefs but did not see Barbara Frietschie nor had he heard of her until he read Whittier's poem. Grant remarked that the gift of the walking-stick had shut him up from a denial of the legend.[99]

The controversy about the poem seems not to have become active until 1875. On May 8 of that year, the Boston *Daily Advertiser* published letters from Jubal Early, Jacob Engelbrecht and Samuel Tyler denying that the flag-waving had ever occurred. Whittier replied on May 13 in the same paper.

Among those who joined in the argument was the novelist, Caroline Wells Dall. She wrote a number of short articles[100] before she published her biography of Barbara Frietschie in 1892. In 1876, she went to Frederick to investigate the story. Failing to discover any "blood-relatives" of Barbara,[101] she interviewed Valerius Ebert, Byerly, the photographer who had made the well-known portrait of Barbara, relatives of John Casper Frietschie, and Catherine Stover Handschuh. She found Mrs. Handschuh "too old to recall the story," an interesting remark in view of the fact that all the traditional information about Mrs. Frietschie is given today on the authority of Mrs. Abbott, daughter of Mrs. Handschuh. The only person who supplied what Mrs. Dall considered reliable information was Dr. Lewis Steiner, writer of the diary quoted above, and a friend, it will be recalled, of Mrs. Frietschie. Mrs. Dall said that Steiner had told her in confidence, which she respected until his death, that the reference to the "aged crone" in his diary was to Barbara Frietschie, "three days after Jackson's men had fired on her flag."[102]

In the same year, a new element entered the story. A person signing himself "Karl Edmund" wrote to the Philadelphia *Press,*

[99] J. D. Cox, *Military Reminiscence of the Civil War* (New York, 1900), I, 273-4, and note 2.

[100] *Independent*, XXVII (New York, November 4, 1875), 5; *Sunday Afternoon*, I (April, 1878), 348-54; *Unitarian Review*, X (September, 1878), 340-1.

[101] This is strange, since a great many nephews and nieces were then living in Frederick, some of them rather prominent. Her nephew and executor, Nicholas Hauer, lived on Patrick street, in the same block as her house, on the opposite side of the street.

[102] Dall, p. 27-28.

May 18, 1876, suggesting that a Mrs. Quantrell might have been the person who defied the Confederate army. More polemics followed, including Mrs. Dall's letters, but for some years no one appeared to support the suggestion of "Karl Edmund." Then, in 1887, H. M. Nixdorff, under the title of *Life of Whittier's Heroine, Barbara Fritchie*,[103] came to the rescue, not of Mrs. Frietschie, but of Mrs. Quantrell. After pages of the most extravagant praise of Barbara's patriotism, her Union sympathies, and her anger at the Confederate troops who had come to her spring for water, Nixdorff said that he had no personal knowledge of the deed attributed to her.[104] But as he stood in his doorway, he "happened to look up the street and saw a very intelligent lady . . .[105] standing on her porch with a small United States flag in her hand waving. . . ."[106] He learned later, he said, that Mrs. Quantrell had spoken "such glowing words of patriotism" that the officer in command would not allow his men to harm her. The difficulty with Nixdorff's testimony and that of his somewhat dubious witnesses, is that none of them had appeared to testify during the previous fifteen years. One has the impression that Nixdorff was attempting to give credit to both ladies at once.

Mrs. Quantrell never attempted to claim the glory for herself.[107] One writer has remarked that she probably wanted to be a village heroine.[108] If so, she left it for her daughter to seek notoriety after her death. In 1891, Virgie Quantrell Browne wrote an article for *Kate Field's Washington*,[109] and the next year one for the Washington *Evening Star*,[110] protesting that Barbara Frietschie had had nothing whatever to do with the deed which had made her famous, and that it was Mrs. Quantrell and not Mrs. Frietschie who had given the flag to "one of Burnsides' men," presumably General Reno, on his way to Antietam. She even attacked Mrs. Frietschie's family in a most vituperative manner, accusing them of remaining silent until "they found glory descending on the old

[103] Frederick, Md. 1887. [104] Nixdorff, p. 16-20, 30-31.

[105] Col. Reno said that Mrs. Quantrell kept a small private school. This would probably justify to Nixdorff his description of her as "intelligent."

[106] Nixdorff, p. 33-4. He does not state clearly whether he recognized Mrs. Quantrell at the time. He appends a curious document, a letter submitted to some neighbors, asking them if it was true that it was Mrs. Quantrell who had waved the flag. They signed a statement that it was, but they gave no reasons, and they did not claim to have been eye-witnesses.

[107] She died in August, 1879. (See *Kate Field's Washington*, III (1891), 412.

[108] Henry Clay Naill, *Literary Digest*, August 26, 1911.

[109] June 24, 1891, III, 411-2. [110] September 12, 1892.

lady's head, after which they accepted all the encomium without protest." [111] She ended her tirade with the words: " I fling back the anathemas with which they assailed my mother's act." [112]

Mrs. Browne was obviously guilty herself of the charges she made against Mrs. Frietschie's family, notably that of " remaining silent until they found glory descending." In addition, her statement is full of glaring errors, among which are the following: [113]

1. " Stonewall Jackson was never in the city of Frederick, during the war; there are plenty of Confederate officers of rank who will substantiate that."
2. " Mrs. Frietschie was bed-ridden at the time."
3. " Mrs. Frietschie's husband was hung years before in the court house yard as a ' Tory.' " [114]
4. " Mrs. Southworth says she received her information from a Mr. Ramsburg only a few years ago."
5. " Mrs. Southworth . . . writes . . . she . . . received it from Miss Dorothea Dix." [115]
6. " I received not only one but several letters [from Whittier] expressing regret that he had given publicity to a false idea and robbed the true subject of justice." [116]

In view of the large number of errors in Mrs. Browne's statement, its combative tone, and the complete lack of corroborative evidence, the claims made for Mrs. Quantrell cannot be considered valid.

While these letters were being published, an anonymous correspondent wrote to the same paper that in February, 1892, she had called on " Mrs. Catherine Hanshaw " niece of Mrs. Frietschie, who was at the same time ninety-one years old, and who had since died. Mrs. Handschuh had told her visitor of " the

[111] *Kate Field's Washington*, III, 412.

[112] We have been unable to find any evidence of the attacks she mentioned. Only a few of Mrs. Frietschie's relatives have taken part in the controversy, and none of them seem to have mentioned Mrs. Quantrell.

[113] Taken from her letter to the Washington *Evening Star*, September 12, 1892.

[114] John Casper Frietschie died peacefully in Frederick in 1849 at the age of sixty-nine, which would have made him three years old when the American Revolution ended, hardly an age for Tory activities or hanging. She has obviously confused him with his father, who had been hanged one hundred ten years before the date of her letter.

[115] Mrs. Southworth, and later her son in her behalf, insisted that the information was obtained and sent to Whittier shortly after the event took place. They denied knowing Miss Dix and all correspondence with her on this subject. Cf. note 94 above.

[116] There is no evidence of such letters and they are not in line with Whittier's attitude. See App. V.

falseness of the story of her Aunt Barbara and the flag," saying that "Aunt Barbara was never known to possess a flag," and that the publicity had become very distressing to her relatives.[117] It is significant that Mrs. Handschuh, when visited by Mrs. Dall some years before, had seemed too old to recall the story.

In 1892 another denial came from Mrs. Jackson, in her *Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson*.[118] Stonewall Jackson had written to his wife of his stay in Frederick, but had made no mention of the story. Mrs. Jackson had conducted some investigations on the subject, and published several denials, including one from Valerius Ebert.[119] Mrs. Jackson and other Southerners resented the implied slur on Jackson's character.

In 1899 and 1900 there were more letters to newspapers, notably a series in the *New York Times*[120] and some in the Boston *Evening Transcript*.[121] None of these has added to the story.

The controversy became bitter in 1913. The old German Reformed Cemetery was turned into a park and some bodies were removed to Mt. Olivet Cemetery. Those of Mrs. Frietschie and her husband were buried in the so-called Frietchie triangle and a monument erected to their memory. More letters were written to the newspapers, and another magazine article appeared.[122] In September, 1914, at the time of the dedication of the monument at the new grave, a Barbara Frietschie Memorial Association arranged elaborate ceremonies, but feeling ran high, many relatives and friends of Mrs. Frietschie's family refusing to attend, because, as they said, " she didn't do it." [123]

Since that time, and especially since the replica of the house was built in 1926, efforts have been made to collect testimony and relics. Miss Eleanor Abbott, daughter of Mrs. J. A. Abbott, (née Julia Handschuh), a grand-niece of Mrs. Frietschie, became hostess and remained in the new house until 1934. Some of the testimony which she collected and published,[124] came from visitors to this house who volunteered information. In some cases, it consisted of statements made by aged persons dealing with events

[117] Washington *Evening Star*, September 12, 1892.
[118] New York, 1892, p. 346-8.
[119] Jacob Engelbrecht said that Valerius Ebert was an " arrant rebel."
[120] October, 4, 10, 14, 1899.
[121] May 2, 4, 9, 1900.
[122] *Daily News*, Frederick, June 19, 1913; *Semi-Weekly News*, Frederick, June 3, 1913; *Magazine of History*, XVI (March, 1913) 120.
[123] Testimony obtained by the writers from relatives still living.
[124] Abbott, p. 14-6.

which had supposedly ocurred fifty or more years earlier, and which had been much discussed in public for half a century. This kind of evidence could be classed only as hearsay, as for example, the story told by a supposed eye-witness, Colonel Edward Schley, who told his sister, whose grand-daughter related it to Miss Abbott.[125]

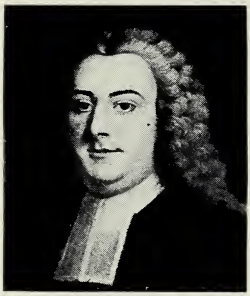
In the face of much conflicting evidence it is impossible to decide exactly what happened. Certain facts emerge. There is no proof that Mrs. Frietschie or Mrs. Quantrell waved a flag at the Confederate Army or any part of it. It seems certain that neither Stonewall Jackson nor any other Confederate general was involved in any way, and almost equally certain that no serious altercation occurred, or anything which involved firing. On the other hand there unquestionably were minor incidents connected with the display of Union flags during the occupation which tradition may have confused with the demonstrations staged on the occasion of entry of the Union troops after it. Barbara Frietschie's obituary states definitely that she participated in the latter. Many women waved flags on this occasion. Since we have no unimpeachable evidence that she also waved a flag at the Confederate Army, we can state only that there exists a tradition that she did so.

This tradition became connected with her name shortly after her death. Her reputation, together with a possible psychopathic element, led people to expect behaviour of the type described, and to attribute to her the act of some anonymous person. The testimony of her friends and relatives has not helped to solve the problem, since their beliefs have become strongly colored by their attitudes toward the war itself, those of Union sympathies in general supporting Whittier's version, and those of Confederate sympathies vigorously denying the truth of it.

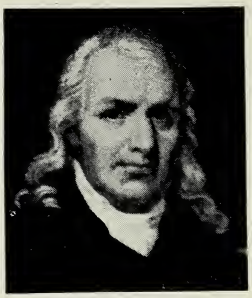
Several years ago, a friend told the writers of her experience when living and teaching in Frederick. "When pressed for conversation at dinner," she said, "you ask your nearest neighbor, in a stage whisper, 'Tell me, just what is the truth about the Barbara Frietschie story?' Then you lean back and listen to the argument for the rest of the evening."

(The Appendixes will appear in a later number of the *Magazine*—Editor.)

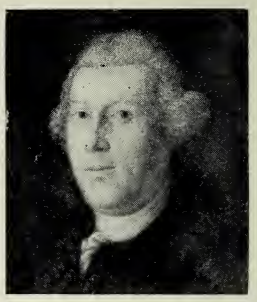
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 15.



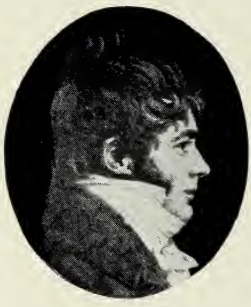
Daniel Dulany
the Younger



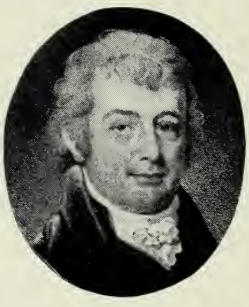
Samuel Chase



Charles Carroll
Barrister

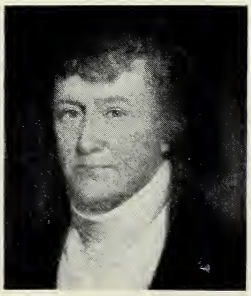


Robert Smith

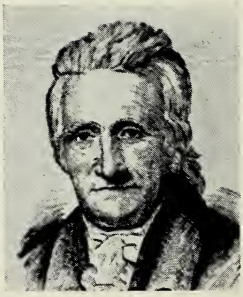


Luther Martin

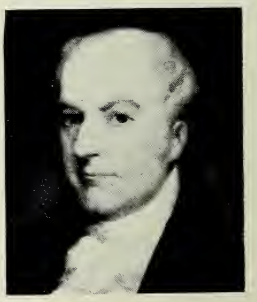
William Pinkney



Alexander C. Hanson



Gabriel Duvall



Robert Goodloe Harper

THE NAMES OF THE GREAT LAWYERS ON THE FRIEZE OF THE BALTIMORE SUPREME BENCH COURT ROOM[1]

By Henry D. Harlan

On the plaster frieze of the Court House in Baltimore there are inscribed twenty-four names. How they got there and who they were is a story that has never been told, and as I am the last survivor of the Court House Commission which had them placed there, and of the Supreme Bench which selected them forty-two years ago, I feel that the obligation is upon me to tell this story.

The new Court House was first provided for by popular vote in 1892. The architects, Wyatt and Nolting of Baltimore, were chosen by a competition conducted by the Court House Commission, which at that time consisted of Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Mayor, *ex officio,* James Hodges, James E. Tate, Robert H. Smith, Henry D. Harlan, Frank N. Hoen, Felix Agnus, and Augustine J. Dalrymple. Plans and specifications were submitted to contractors in 1895, and the bid of John Gill & Sons and D. W. Thomas of Ohio, associate contractors, was accepted, and the contract was awarded to them on July 22, 1895. The first brick was laid January 30, 1896. The cornerstone was laid with Masonic ceremonies, June 25, 1896. The Court House was in process of construction during the ensuing five years and was dedicated on January 8, 1900.

While the Court House was being constructed, the Commission had visited some of the newer court houses and other public buildings in the eastern states, and had observed that names were being effectively used in their decorations. Sometime early in 1899 I suggested to my associates the use of the names of some celebrated lawyers of Maryland who were deceased, who had been in some way connected with our Bar or whose fame was so illustrious that they belonged to us as to the whole State of Maryland. The Commission thought well of my suggestion and on January 25, 1899, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Judges of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City be requested to express their opinion as to the propriety of placing the names

[1] Address before the Society, February 9, 1942.

of some leading members of the Bar on the walls of the Supreme Bench Room of the New Court House, and if of an affirmative opinion, that they be requested to furnish the names of twenty-four men whom they consider to be entitled to that honor.

At this time the Supreme Bench consisted of the following members: Henry D. Harlan, chief judge; Charles E. Phelps, J. Upshur Dennis, Daniel Giraud Wright, Pere L. Wickes, Albert Ritchie, John J. Dobler, Henry Stockbridge, George M. Sharp, associate judges, several of whom were peculiarly qualified by reason of long knowledge of the history of the Bar and of the State to give most valuable assistance in the selection of the twenty-four names of lawyers entitled to this honor. To the letter of the Commission the Supreme Bench replied on February 7, 1899. In the meantime the matter was the subject of discussion and study. Other members of the Bar were consulted. Lists were prepared from all suggestions, and used in choosing the names to be recommended by the Bench. Between the date of the letter of the Court House Commission and the reply of the Supreme Bench, certain members of the Bench and some of the older and leading members of the Bar dined with me at my then home, 9 West Biddle Street, and discussed the selection of the names for the frieze, after dinner had been served, around the dinner table. I do not recall all who were present. It was a small dinner because I lived in a small house. However, those present were leading members of the Bar and Bench. Their opinions were invaluable in making any selection of those most celebrated and worthy of honor, whom they knew personally or with whose reputations and achievements they were familiar by history or tradition. The twenty-four names recommended in the letter from the Supreme Bench to the Court House Commission were adopted and under the Commission's orders were inscribed on the frieze.

The Supreme Bench Court Room has been pronounced one of the most effective chambers of its size in existence. It is entirely surmounted by a dome resting upon walls and sixteen columns of richly colored marble. This marble was procured from a quarry near Rome, which is the property of the Holy See, and the product of which, owing to its rare beauty and fineness, has long been employed almost exclusively in the construction of altars for churches. The supply of stone is nearly exhausted and consequently is used sparingly. It was in compliment to Cardinal Gibbons, whose interest in this, as in all other matters connected with his native city, was active and heartfelt, that the Pope consented that this almost priceless

stone should be used to adorn the chamber of the highest legal tribunal in the city which was the seat of the Senior Prelate of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States." [2]

The names on the frieze of this room are a notable list of great lawyers, many of whom were not only outstanding at the Bar but eminent in the halls of legislation and as counsellors of the State and Nation, as attorney generals, and as holders of other high and important offices.

It was no easy task to choose twenty-four names (and there was not space for more). Opinions differed as to the most worthy. For instance, Judge Charles E. Phelps at first thought the name of Henry Winter Davis should be included, as appears from his original letter which I have. And I have a letter from a relative of T. Parkin Scott, the first Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore under the Constitution of '67, earnestly protesting the omission of that name.

There had been before the building of the new Court House other great lawyers, not then living, whose names, had there been space for them, would have been included in the list, and there have been great lawyers deceased since its dedication whose fame would have called for inclusion had they been then dead, such as John P. Poe, William F. Frick, William A. Fisher, Bernard Carter and Arthur W. Machen, to mention only a few.

Having told something of how the names came to be placed where they are, it seems worthwhile to justify their choice by some brief narrative of those so honored. It is manifestly not the time or the place to give twenty-four biographies. What I may say is but the most meagre portrayal. I have, however, in addition to an endeavor to be accurate in statement and that you may glimpse them as they were in life sought to secure portraits, and have finally succeeded as to all. For their reproduction, in lantern slides and their exhibition tonight, I am indebted to my talented friend, Mr. Paul W. Englar, who is an amateur photographer and a valued associate in the Fidelity Trust Company.

As the frieze under the dome in the Supreme Bench Room is circular, the list of names there inscribed has no beginning and no end, but it seems best to take them up substantially in the order of their several births.

[2] John M. Powell in *Baltimore: Its History and Its People* (1912) I, 321.

Dulany, 1721–1797

No one even slightly acquainted with the history of our Bar would question that the name of Dulany is entitled to a place of honor, probably the most pre-eminent place. This name carries us back to provincial times. It is associated with two individuals, the fame of either of whom would have justified inclusion. Of Daniel Dulany, the elder, it is said that he was " as conspicuous among contemporaries as his more accomplished son, and enjoyed a reputation in the province surpassed only by that of his son." But it is Daniel Dulany, the son, for whom the inscription was made. For many years before the downfall of the Proprietary Government he stood without a rival in this colony, as a lawyer, a scholar and an orator, and had among the sons of Maryland no superior. Says one historian:

> We may admit that tradition is a magnifier, and that men seen through the medium and the lapse of half a century like objects in a misty morning loom large in the distance; yet, with regard to Mr. Dulany, there is no room for such illusion. . . . The legal arguments and opinions of Mr. Dulany which yet remain to us bear the impress of abilities too commanding and of learning too profound, to admit of question. [Even the Chancellor of England submitted questions to his award.] Unrivalled in professional learning, he added to all his traits the power of the orator, the accomplishments of the scholar, the graces of the person, and the suavity of the gentleman. Mr. Pinkney himself, the wonder of his age, who saw but the setting splendor of Mr. Dulany's talents, is reputed to have said of him that even among such men as Fox, Pitt and Sheridan he had not found his superior.[3]

If any name in the list is entitled to the appellation *nomen clarissimum* it is Dulany.

Carroll, 1723–1783

Here, too, we have a name that is illustrious in Maryland. When one hears it as of the time of the Revolution, there springs into mind, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Signer, who was indeed a lawyer of more than ordinary ability. The Carroll, however, who was most in our minds to honor was Charles Carroll, the barrister, born at Annapolis, who died in Baltimore, at his home " Mount Clare " in what is now Carroll Park, a beautiful colonial mansion which he built, and which containing many

[3] Conway W. Sams and Elihu Riley, *Bench and Bar of Maryland* (1901), I, 167-169.

antiques, is now open to the public and will well repay a visit. Barrister Carroll, while now less heard of than his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was one of Maryland's great Revolutionary heroes. On the walls of old St. Anne's Church in Annapolis, of which he was a vestryman, is a tablet dedicated on Sunday morning, November 21, 1937, in his memory, which bears this inscription:

Patriot and Leader in the cause of America's independence — Eminent Jurist and Churchman — President of the Convention of 1776 which gave the State of Maryland its Bill of Rights and First Constitution — Honored by his Country for his outstanding talents and virtues — He lived to see the attainment of his high endeavors — He died respected and beloved.

Chase, 1741–1811

The name of Chase belongs also to the stirring times of the Revolution, and the founding of the Federal Government and of the government of the State of Maryland, after independence was achieved. Samuel Chase was born in Somerset County. He studied law at Annapolis and was admitted to the Bar at 20. He contributed more to the success of independence than any man of Maryland. He was called the " torch of the Revolution " and was a member of " The Sons of Liberty." It is not, however, as an outstanding patriotic leader, an intrepid member of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, that we honor him, but as a great lawyer and fearless judge. While Chief Judge of the Criminal Court of Maryland a riot occurred, and he caused the arrest of two of its ring-leaders. They refused to give bail and the sheriff feared a rescue, if he undertook to take them to jail. " Call the *posse commitatus* " said Judge Chase. " Sir, no one will serve," replied the sheriff. " Summon me, then. I will take them to jail," the Judge replied. In 1791, Chase was made Chief Justice of the General Court of Maryland.

Chase was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States as Associate Justice by President Washington in 1796, where he served until 1811, fifteen years. In 1804 he was impeached for alleged misdemeanor during the trial of Fries and Callendar for sedition 5 years previously, and for a recent intemperate address to a Grand Jury in Maryland. The impeachment was really an attack by the legislative branch of the Government upon the independence of the Judiciary. The House of Representatives

impeaches, the Senate tries. A two-thirds vote of the Senate is necessary to a conviction, and as this was not received the attempt failed. One author says:

> Zealous, ardent and courageous, Samuel Chase threw his talents, fearlessness and youth into his leadership of the spirit of revolution in Maryland rising against the measures of George III, and his fame survives as a precious legacy of a State prolific in courageous leaders and eminent lawyers.[4]

MARTIN, 1744–1826

Here was one of the most astonishing characters that the Bar of the United States has ever had—a great lawyer, an ardent patriot, a colossal figure in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States and singularly enough, an opponent of its adoption by the State of Maryland. The grounds given in an argument against the proposed plan of federal union are said to be the ablest extant, the soundness of which subsequent events have demonstrated. Martin was of counsel for the defense of Judge Chase in the impeachment trial. His argument in that case has been reported never to have been exceeded " in powerful and brilliant eloquence in the forensic oratory of our country."

So, too, Aaron Burr, who presided in the Chase trial, was tried for treason in 1817 at Richmond before Chief Justice Marshall, Martin was counsel for Burr and exerted all the powers of his splendid genius in securing Burr's acquittal. When Martin had wrecked his life by drink and profligacy and was reduced to poverty, to Burr's lasting credit, the latter out of gratitude took Martin into his home in New York as a guest until he died. This also happened: the General Assembly of Maryland in 1822, passed an act " unparalleled in American history " by which every lawyer in the State was required to pay a license fee of $5 per year, the entire proceeds to be for the support of Luther Martin. No lawyer of the State except one, I believe, who did not present his objection, declined to pay on the ground that the act was manifestly unconstitutional. It was written of Martin that he had a heart full of kindness and a hand that responded in sympathy to those in sorrow.

HANSON, 1749–1806

This is also an illustrious name in colonial and Revolutionary days. John Hanson of Maryland " was President of the United

[4] *Ibid.*, 159.

States in Congress Assembled" under the Articles of Confederation, 1781-1782. His son, Alexander Contee Hanson, became Chancellor of the High Court of Chancery of Maryland at the age of 39, and died in office after a distinguished career on the Bench of over 16 years, in 1806. It was the younger Hanson's fame and his work as a chancellor that was intended to be commemorated in our frieze. One act as an associate judge of the General Court of Maryland, before his chancellorship, marks him as a man of stern devotion to duty. In 1780 seven loyalists were tried before him for high treason in conspiring to release British prisoners of war held in Frederick Town. The trial lasted ten days, and all seven were convicted. In pronouncing sentence Judge Hanson declared: " In view of the attitude of mockery of the accused, and their apparent belief that America dared not punish Tories conspiring against her . . . they ought to suffer to the full the penalty for high treason," and thereat sentenced all seven to be hanged, drawn and quartered.

Duvall, 1752–1844

Gabriel Duvall was born in Prince George's County, was admitted to the Bar and attained a position among its leaders; became a Congressman, and in 1796 resigned to accept the appointment to the Bench of the highest court of Maryland. In 1802 he was appointed by President Jefferson, comptroller of the United States Treasury. He continued to hold this office until November, 1811, when he was appointed by President Madison associate justice of the Supreme Court. There are no long biographies of him extant, but the fact that he was for 25 years on the Supreme Court of the United States beside Marshall, Story and other great judges, and maintained a high reputation for ability, integrity and independence justified the honor accorded to him.

Smith, 1757–1842

The Smith here memorialized is Robert Smith. He was a Revolutionary hero, a volunteer at the age of 14. At the close of the war he studied law, was admitted to practice, and settled in Baltimore in 1788; was chosen a Presidential Elector and was the last survivor of that College. He was a Maryland Senator and a member of the House of Delegates; secretary of the navy, attorney general of the United States, and from 1809 to 1811 Secretary of

State. In 1813 he was made Provost of the University of Maryland. He died in 1842, at the age of 84 years.

For the many public positions of importance, usefulness and responsibility which he held, he is entitled to be held in remembrance.

Pinkney, 1764–1822

This is one of the proudest names in the annals of the American Bar, and the life of William Pinkney, for whom it stands, is an alluring topic. This I dare not undertake. My good friend William L. Rawls, Esq., himself an outstanding member of our Bar, has at my earnest request given me a brief outline of Pinkney's life and his important accomplishments. Compact as it is, I am constrained to omit the reading of all of it, and to justify the use of William Pinkney's name by evidence from one or two contemporaries. Justice Story said: "Never do I expect to hear a man like Mr. Pinkney. He was a man who appears scarcely in a century." Chief Justice Marshall said Mr. Pinkney was "the greatest man I have ever seen in a Court of Justice," "the undoubted head of the American Bar." John Randolph in announcing his death to the House of Representatives said "such a man as has existed may exist again. There has been a Homer, there has been a Shakespeare, there has been a Newton, there has been a Milton; there may be a Pinkney, but there is none now."

Harper, 1765–1825

Robert Goodloe Harper, for whom the name Harper was inscribed, was by birth a Virginian. His parents emigrated to North Carolina, while he was young. When hostilities ceased in 1781, he attended Princeton College, then settled in Charleston, S. C., where he gained admission to the Bar in one year. Because of conspicuous ability and eloquence, he was elected to Congress where he was a leader of the Federalist Party. The triumph of the Jefferson or Democratic Party ended his Congressional career. Having married Catherine, second daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, he moved to Baltimore and soon became eminent in the legal profession. With Luther Martin and other eminent counsel he took part in defending Justice Chase in his impeachment trial. He also was of counsel for Aaron Burr in the latter's trial for treason. He became a United States Senator from Mary-

land, but resigned because of the demands of his law practice in Baltimore. He was an outstanding public citizen, a defender of Baltimore in the Battle of North Point, a staunch patriot and an eminent lawyer.

KILTY, 1757–1821

William Kilty was another of the great chancellors of Maryland. The office of chancellor of the High Court of Chancery was one of dignity and power created in early times by Lord Baltimore under the charter granted by the King of England. It was not so great an office as that of Lord High Chancellor of England who was and is the greatest peer in the realm, next to the king himself and the royal princes, and presides in the House of Lords. It was, however, patterned upon that office. The Chancellor of Maryland was keeper of the great seal and administered the principles and practice of equity jurisprudence.

Kilty was chancellor from 1806 until his death in 1821, and left a reputation of great ability and learning. As there were no reports of the decisions of the Court of Chancery in that day, few, if any, of his opinions are preserved. He, moreover, conferred a boon on the Bar by his report of the British Statutes in force in Maryland, a task of vast importance. We adjudged him worthy of remembrance.

WIRT, 1772–1834

William Wirt was attorney general of the United States for 12 years, a period surpassing that of any of his predecessors or successors, and by the brilliant performance of the duties of that office he gave it a dignity and importance which it has ever since retained. He was a Marylander by birth, but won his first fame as a lawyer in Virginia, where he became the head of the bar. He first came to the attention of the nation in the celebrated Callender trial, when he was retained at the suggestion of Jefferson as one of the counsel for the defense, and again gained renown as a lawyer and orator in the trial of Burr for treason, where he was for the prosecution.

While Attorney General he took part in the great constitutional cases, such as *McCulloh* vs. *Maryland, Gibbons* vs. *Ogden,* the *Dartmouth College Case,* which are commonly regarded as the most momentous of John Marshall's decisions. He was unusually handsome, of great charm, and was said to be the "most

beloved of American advocates." When Wirt died in 1834 the news was everywhere greeted with keenest regret. No member of the American Bar was held in dearer esteem than William Wirt.

Winder, 1775–1824

William Henry Winder was born in Somerset County, studied law in Annapolis, and began practice in Princess Anne, but in 1802 removed to Baltimore.

By 1812 he had gained such prominence as a lawyer that his name appeared in more than one-third of the cases reported in the Court of Appeals. When the War of 1812 was impending, the appeal of patriotism was too strong to be resisted, and he left his practice to become a soldier. He entered the army and attained by merit the rank of brigadier general. Among other battles, he fought in that of Bladensburg, and in the defense of Baltimore against the British.

When peace came, he returned to the practice of the law, and was soon again in the full tide of professional activity. During the next 9 years, until his death at 50 in 1824, no litigation of importance occupied the State or Federal Courts in Maryland in which he was not occupied. Winder is said to have tried more cases with success than any other member of the Bar, not excepting such lawyers of the time as Taney, Martin, Pinkney, Harper or Wirt. This applies also to the United States Supreme Court.

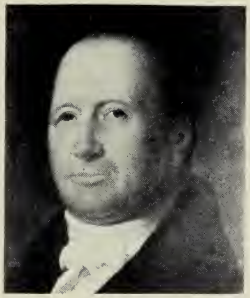
Famous as soldier, lawyer, citizen, his place in the civic life of Baltimore, and in the affectionate regard of his fellow citizens was attested at his funeral, which was more elaborate than any theretofore conducted in Baltimore.[5]

Bland, 1776–1846

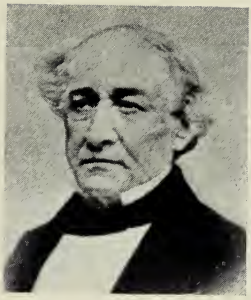
Theodorick Bland was probably the greatest of the chancellors. He was not a Marylander by birth, having been born in Virginia in 1776. Of his early life and education I have not found much. In 1807 he was elected to the Maryland House of Delegates. In 1812 he was appointed associate judge of the Sixth Judicial District, including Baltimore and Harford counties. He was secretary of the Committee of Safety in the War of 1812, and was

[5] For information about Winder I am indebted to my friend, Ralph Robinson, Esq., one of today's leaders of the Baltimore Bar.

WILLIAM H. WINDER

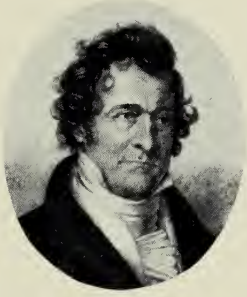


THEODORICK BLAND

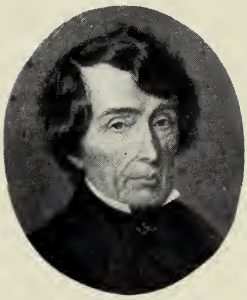


JOHN NELSON

WILLIAM KILTY



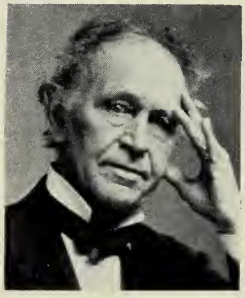
WILLIAM WIRT



ROGER B. TANEY

REVERDY JOHNSON

JOHN V. L. MCMAHON



WILLIAM SCHLEY

active in the defense of Baltimore in that war. Under appointment by President Monroe he served as commissioner to South America. When he became chancellor in 1824 he gave to the duties of this office such diligent and assiduous attention as has never, in my opinion, been surpassed in Maryland. He not only rendered clear and convincing opinions,—the result of careful examination and research,—but, since in his time there were no chancery reports, he reported and published these opinions for the benefit of the litigants and the Bar in three volumes, known as "Bland's Chancery Reports." They are a mine of learning and information.

Taney, 1777–1864

There is needed no justification for the use of the name of Roger B. Taney, who was a native of Maryland, a leading member of the Baltimore Bar, an attorney general of Maryland, attorney general of the United States, secretary of the treasury of the United States, and a chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States for twenty-seven years in succession to John Marshall. I had prepared a longer statement as to his immensely interesting career, but I shall not use it tonight for there is no one here who does not know the place of Roger B. Taney in American history. I add only this, that after all the acrimony and bitterness arising out of the Civil War had passed, Chief Justice Hughes declared that Taney was "a great chief justice." We did not err in including the name of Taney.

Nelson, 1791–1860

John Nelson, another of Frederick's great sons, was a United States attorney general, one of the most brilliant members of the American Bar. The reputation handed down to the profession is that he was a man of commanding character, masterful resources, and brilliant professional attainments.

Johnson, 1796–1876

The renowned Reverdy Johnson of Baltimore is here commemorated. Of all accounts of him that I have read, and I have read a number, though I know of no long biography, the most pleasing to me is that in an address by a former associate of mine on the Supreme Bench, the late Judge J. Upshur Dennis, delivered

before the State Bar Association at Hagerstown in 1905.[6] This address most strikingly reveals the great advocate. After describing Mr. Johnson's personal appearance, Judge Dennis refers to his almost total blindness in his later years as a result of an untoward accident which occurred while he, as a second, was practicing with his principal, Mr. Stanley of North Carolina, for a duel with Mr. Wirt of Virginia. In the early thirties Mr. Stanley and Mr. Wirt had gotten into a fracas on the race course at a great match race about a horse owned by President Jackson and one owned by Judge Gabriel Duvall of Maryland. In consequence of the fracas a challenge had been issued and accepted. Mr. Johnson fired at a hickory sapling. The bullet, striking it, rebounded and struck Mr. Johnson in the eye, destroying his eye, and the other eye became affected from sympathy.

> Distinguished as was his career as a Senator and Attorney General of United States, distinguished too as Minister to England . . . his highest fame will always rest . . . upon his achievements as a constitutional lawyer. . . . Universally recognized as one of the greatest among the acknowledged great . . . yet, [said Judge Dennis], I entertain the belief that his greatest forte was as a *nisi prius* lawyer. . . . Those who knew him in his prime entertained the belief that at the trial table he never had a superior, if an equal, in this country and it is doubtful if Lord Abinger himself ever surpassed him as a verdict-getter.

Judge Dennis also gives some charming anecdotes of Mr. Johnson's fun and technique at the trial table and concludes with a brief account of his tragic death by falling from the Governor's Mansion into the areaway which surrounds the building. In his partial blindness he had mistaken a window for the front door to the open porch. Falling, he crushed his head. At that time I was a student at St. John's College and well remember the shock and grief occasioned by this catastrophe.

The fame of Reverdy Johnson was national and international.

Schley, 1799-1872

William Schley was for many years one of the leaders of the Baltimore Bar, and one of the most distinguished and successful advocates the State of Maryland has ever had. He commenced practice in Frederick County, and in 1837 removed to Baltimore where he rapidly rose to distinction. In 1836 he was a member of

[6] Published in the *Report of the Tenth Annual Meeting.*

the General Assembly, when the question of constitutional reform created great agitation throughout the State. In the discussions which followed it was reported to Mr. Schley that remarks had been made by William Cost Johnson reflecting upon his actions and ascribing his course to personal motives. Resenting the imputation upon his official integrity, and having no reason to doubt that Mr. Johnson's words had been correctly reported to him, Mr. Schley sent Johnson a peremptory challenge, which was accepted. They met near Alexandria, Virginia, April 13, 1837. There was a single exchange of shots. Both were wounded, Mr. Schley slightly, Mr. Johnson more seriously. Distinguished friends, seconds and surgeons were in attendance. After the exchange of shots, Mr. Johnson in the handsomest manner and of his own accord stated he was aware of the inaccurate report made of his language to Mr. Schley, and that the latter was perfectly justified in basing his challenge upon such report, and that he regretted that he had not felt at liberty upon the receipt of the challenge to deny having uttered a single word reflecting upon or in any way impugning Mr. Schley's motives. The parties were reconciled upon the spot and remained warm friends thereafter. The affair received the name of " the pattern duel," both from the extreme punctilio exhibited by the parties, and the exact observance by the seconds of all the rules and courtesies proper to such an occasion, and from the happy and becoming manner in which the meeting terminated.[7]

As an advocate Schley had few equals.

McMahon, 1800–1871

John V. L. McMahon, who is here remembered, was born at Cumberland in 1800; was a man of brilliant talents, a historian who wrote the best history of early Maryland, a lawyer of extraordinary gifts, one of the finest intellects that ever adorned the bar, and an orator of surpassing ability. It has been said of him that he never lost a case. This sample of his oratory on the hustings is preserved. In the " Log Cabin " and " Hard Cider " campaign of 1840, McMahon was chairman of an immense *ratification* meeting, at which Henry Clay and Webster were present. When he arose he opened the proceedings thus:

[7] This account is condensed from *Baltimore: Past and Present* (1871), p. 446-447.

Let the nation come to order. The mountains have sent forth their rills; the hillsides their streams; the valleys their rivers; and lo, the avalanche of the people is here.

He drew the incorporation act of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, the first incorporation act of the kind ever prepared in this country. Most of his professional life was passed in Baltimore to which he had removed in 1826. His eyesight failed him in 1855 and compelled him to relinquish his profession. He died in Cumberland in 1871. He was called "the Great McMahon."

ALEXANDER, 1801–1871

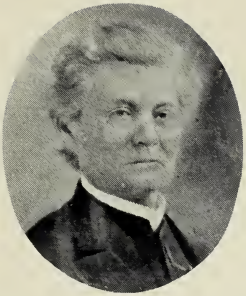
Thomas Stockett Alexander was born in Annapolis the 23rd day of December, 1801, and was admitted to the Bar at the age of 20. He gained the reputation of being the greatest equity lawyer that the State had ever produced. He placed the Bar under a very deep debt of gratitude by the preparation and publication of *Maryland Chancery Practice,* a textbook written with an unsurpassed knowledge of his subject, and in language of singular clarity and directness. From the time of the publication of this textbook until the abolition of the Court of Chancery in 1854, he was employed in every important case in that Court. At the age of 66 he seemed to desire a wider field in which to practice, and removed to New York, but he contracted pneumonia in 1871 and died after a brief illness on December 4.

LEGRAND, 1814–1861

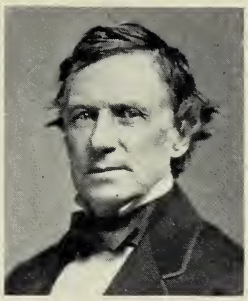
Of French ancestry, John Carroll LeGrand first intended to be a merchant, but changed to law, and early demonstrated talents of the highest order. He became Speaker of the House of Delegates at his first term, when elected to the Maryland legislature, was secretary of state for two years; was appointed associate judge of the Baltimore County Court at the age of 30, and was appointed chief judge of the Court of Appeals at the age of 37. He served with distinction until the Constitution of 1854 went into effect and the system of selecting judges by election was adopted in place of selection by appointment. He died December 30, 1861, at the age of 47 years.

Chief Judge McSherry said in a discriminating address on "Former Chief Judges of the Court of Appeals," which he pre-

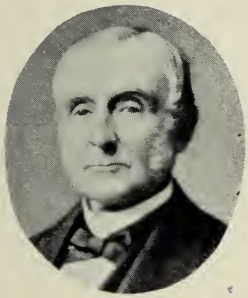
JOHN C. LE GRAND



THOMAS S. ALEXANDER



JAMES L. BARTOL



I. NEVITT STEELE

JOHN H. B. LATROBE

S. TEACKLE WALLIS

WILLIAM F. FRICK *

JOHN P. POE *

** These two men were among the great lawyers active at the time the Court House was built. Had they not been alive, their names might have been among those honored.*

sented before the Maryland State Bar Association at Annapolis in 1903:

From among the Chief Justices of whom I have spoken, three stand out in bold relief as pre-eminently great—John Buchanan, John Carroll LeGrand, and Richard H. Alvey. It is difficult to determine which of them ranks the highest.[8]

Bartol, 1813–1887

James Lawrence Bartol was born at Havre de Grace, and studied law in the office of Otho Scott at Bel Air. In 1836 he was admitted to the Bar. He commenced practice in Caroline County, and for seven years practiced on the Eastern Shore. In 1845, he removed to Baltimore where his reputation as a lawyer increased. He was appointed to a vacancy on the Court of Appeals occasioned by the death of John Thomson Mason in 1857, and in 1867 he was elected to the new Court of Appeals and designated by Governor Ligon as chief judge. His fairness of mind, strict impartiality, calm judicial temperament, readiness to hear patiently both sides and reserve judgment until the case was fully before him characterized his whole judicial career. At the time of his resignation, on account of increasing infirmities, after 27 years of judicial service, his associates wrote to him: "We express the sentiments of the entire profession and of the public and our own when we say that you have performed the work and lived the life of an able, upright and impartial judge."

Latrobe, 1803–1891

Latrobe is a familiar name in Baltimore. Here it stands for John H. B. Latrobe who lived in this city for 88 years. He was not only an eminent lawyer, but was a man of many and various talents. He had unusual skill with his pencil and in earlier life, in order to support himself and aid his family while he was studying law in the office of Senator Harper, he illustrated a series of publications for the well known publisher, Fielding Lucas, Jr., of that day, by drawing and by painting, for he also painted with skill. He had a most retentive memory, and used "scraps of time" as he called them, in accumulating an astonishing amount of valuable information of the most varied character. A vivid biography of him by John E. Semmes, Sr., is most interesting. He

[8] *Report of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Maryland State Bar Association.*

was counsel for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company from 1828 until his death in 1891. He had the distinction of having, on the suggestion of President McLane, examined the invention of Morse, the electric telegraph for sending messages over wires, and advised President McLane to grant to Morse the right to string wires over the right-of-way of the Baltimore and Ohio between Washington and Baltimore, in order to demonstrate the practicability of the telegraph. The wires were strung, and the first long distance message "What hath God wrought" was sent.

I had the honor of Mr. Latrobe's acquaintance, first gained when I was a student in Mr. John P. Poe's office and had occasion to go to the office of Mr. Latrobe on the east side of the building then at the northeast corner of St. Paul and Lexington streets, where the Preston Gardens now are, in order to get him as a regent of the law school of the University of Maryland, to sign the diplomas of the graduates. The memory of these meetings I shall always treasure. My remembrance is of meeting a wise old veteran of the law giving to a youngster just entering the profession cordiality of the most agreeable kind and valuable advice. Mr. Latrobe was not only an author of note in prose literature and poetry, but he also wrote Latrobe's *Justice's Practice,* a book of the greatest value to justices of the peace, constables and lawyers, which passed through at least seven editions. He also wrote a biography of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. And, last but not least, he was a President of this honorable Society 1871 to 1891.

Steele, 1809–1891

I do not think I can do better than tell you briefly what Judge J. Upshur Dennis had to say about I. Nevitt Steele in the address to which I have already referred, "Recollections of a Quartet of Baltimore Lawyers"—Johnson, Schley, Steele and Wallis. After stating that Mr. Steele was a native of Dorchester County, and one of the sons of the Eastern Shore whose fame is a heritage belonging to the whole State, he said: "I never heard his equal in argumentative power." Judge Fisher, than whom there could be no more competent critic, said:

> With the exception of John Nelson, Mr. Steele on his feet was the strongest man I ever heard. Steele spoke with the most perfect forensic diction. If ever a man drew from the "well of English undefiled," it was Steele.

Every word of this encomium, I myself confirm. He was the greatest lawyer I ever knew. Whenever it was possible for me to do so, I went into Court, as did all the Bar, to hear him speak when he was trying an important case, and I do not think I ever heard more clear, logical or convincing arguments at the Bar. I also had the great privilege of a somewhat familiar acquaintance with him in his home. I knew his wife and his handsome daughters and his fine sons.

Wallis, 1816–1894

That the name of Severn Teakle Wallis could not be omitted from any list of lawyers where great lawyers of the State and Nation are placed *causa honoris* no one will deny who has read Maryland history or listened to tradition. Mr. Wallis was not only a lawyer of consummate ability at the *nisi prius* trial table, but also on appeal. His name appears as leading counsel for plaintiffs or defendants throughout the reports of the Court of Appeals of Maryland and the reports of cases in the Supreme Court of the United States during his long career more frequently than that of most others of his generation. His reported arguments, and the cases in which he was successful in gaining a verdict or obtaining a favorable decree for his clients are irrefutable evidence of his talents.

Mr. Wallis was not only a great lawyer, but he was much more than a great lawyer. He was an illustrious citizen. He was an orator of consummate ability, capable by the strength of his logic, the clearness of his statements, the winsomeness of his diction and the shafts of the ridicule which he could employ, of swaying vast audiences on the hustings. He stood for justice in civic affairs. He was the Sir Galahad of the Bar. Of spotless reputation, armed with righteousness, he was always ready to enter the lists against those who did or countenanced fraud or wrong. He was master of the art of wit and repartee, of scorn and satire, and had command of a diction that was the admiration of all and envy of many. I knew him better than any others on the list, for he was provost of the University of Maryland for many years. It was part of my duty while connected with Dean Poe's office to take him in a carriage from his office on St. Paul street to the theatre where the commencement exercises were customarily held,

and on these occasions I heard some of the most delightful casual addresses to which man ever listened.

Concluding this brief statement as justifying the use of the name of Wallis, I may be permitted to give a single illustration of his graceful speech and his charming eloquence. In addressing a graduating class of law students, he said:

> No, gentlemen, your profession calls upon you for no sacrifice of your best gifts or powers. There is room for all of them within it; there is scope in it for Fancy and her noble sister, Imagination; there is room for Wit and Humor; for Taste and for Grace; and all that is splendid in the mastery of eloquence; all that can influence the human mind and penetrate and control the human soul.

He was also president of Maryland Historical Society 1892-1894.

These were some of the eminent lawyers who through the century and one-quarter prior to 1900 shed luster upon the Bar of Maryland and who are worthy of highest honor and of being remembered as long as the walls of the marble temple of justice, the Baltimore Court House, shall remain, though I crave your indulgent pardon for having detained you too long in telling of them. If I were to give this paper a sentimental title, I think I might venture to call it "Rosemary and Pansies" for Shakespeare makes Hamlet say "Rosemary that's for remembrance and Pansies that's for thoughts."

NEW LIGHT ON THREE EPISODES OF THE BRITISH INVASION OF MARYLAND IN 1814

By Ralph Robinson

I

Origin of the Proposal to Attack Washington and Baltimore

With whom did the proposal to attack Washington and Baltimore in the War of 1812 originate? That it was first suggested by Rear Admiral George Cockburn has been claimed by respectable authority.[1] Cockburn took his station in the Chesapeake in February, 1813, under the orders of Sir John Borlase Warren, who subscribed himself "Admiral of The Blue." This claim in Cockburn's behalf was strengthened when a letter was made available upon the acquisition of the Cockburn Papers by the Library of Congress. Written by Cockburn to Sir Alexander Forrester Inglis Cochrane, who relieved Warren in the fall of 1813 and was using Bermuda as the base for his fleet, this letter will be found in the issue of this *Magazine* for March, 1911, having been supplied by Mr. Louis H. Dielman, at that time its Editor. Mr. Dielman expressed the opinion that it decided the question in Cockburn's favor.

However, since the Cockburn's papers were made accessible, photostatic copies of Cochrane's correspondence have been secured by the Library from the Public Record Office in London, which shed additional light on the Chesapeake Campaign and leave no doubt that the attacks on Washington and Baltimore were first suggested by Cochrane and that the plans for carrying out these projects were submitted by Cockburn after the campaign had been conceived by his superior officer.

This statement is supported by a letter to the Earl of Bathurst written by Cochrane from Bermuda on July 14, 1814. In it

[1] That the expedition against Washington originated with Cockburn is asserted by William James, *Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and America* (London, 1818), I, 276. Color has been given to this claim by Ross in his Report, who "confesses" his obligations to "Admiral Cockburn who *suggested* the attack upon Washington." Ross' report in T. H. Palmer, ed., *Historical Register*, IV (Phila., 1816), Official Documents, p. 148. This statement probably refers to Cockburn's attitude toward the project when these two officers conferred at Upper Marlborough on August the 23rd. See *post*, p. 283.

he mentions sending two turtles to his Lordship,—doubtless promptly to be converted into soup of which the English Naval Officers are reported to have been extremely fond—and a box of arrow root for Lady Bathurst, " who will find attached one of the most approved recipes " for its use. He moreover expresses the wish that his Lordship " will lay his commands upon him in forwarding the productions of the Western World."

He informs the Earl that he has sent about 900 Marines to the Chesapeake to act under Admiral Cockburn, who, he says, " has been annoying the Americans a good deal of late " with his force, making partial attacks and shifting from place to place.

> I trust [he continues] to be able to find the enemy free employment for all his troops in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, without detaching them to the Canadian Frontier. If troops arrive soon and the point of attack is directed towards Baltimore, I have every prospect of success and Washington will be equally accessible.
>
> They may be destroyed or laid under contribution, as the occasion may require. . . . I have much at heart to give them [the Americans] a good drubbing before peace is made, when I trust their northern limits will be circumscribed and the command of the Mississippi wrested from them.

He expresses himself as greatly interested in raising Black Troops for the prosecution of the war, to be afterwards settled in the British Colonies, " where they will be most useful subjects from their hatred to the citizens of the United States." He proposes to use them as dragoons and with this in view, he has directed horses to be collected in the Chesapeake Bay area and put on islands there under British control. The blacks, he declares " are good horsemen, can be made as good as Cossacks and more terrible to the Americans than any [troops] that can be brought forward." [2]

A project for wresting the Mississippi from the enemy had already been suggested by Cochrane in a letter written on the 20th of June, which was communicated to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on August 8th. Two days later a secret and confidential letter was written to Cochrane, in which he was told that an expedition to the " Guelph of Mexico " had been projected under the command of Lieutenant General Lord Hill and aban-

[2] Public Record Office, London, Vol. 141, Part I. Copy in Library of Congress, Div. MSS.

doned, but as Cochrane thinks a blow can be struck with a smaller force, the Lords Commissioners have decided to put " the operation proposed into effect " and Major General Ross " in whose zeal and abilities great reliance is placed," will be " directed to proceed to carry into operation the plan which you may agree upon with him." Reinforcements will be sent to Ross, who had already left for Bermuda, and the expedition will proceed with all dispatch to the Barbados and thence to Negril Roads, Jamaica, where all forces were to rendezvous not later than the 20th of November.[3]

This letter outlined the plans for the expedition that terminated in the battle of New Orleans.

Not waiting for a reply to his letter of June 20th suggesting the Gulf of Mexico expedition, Cochrane, in the exercise of the discretion apparently allowed him by the Admiralty, wrote Cockburn on July 1st a secret letter informing him of the plans for a campaign in the Chesapeake Bay area, beginning with an attack on Washington, and requesting his opinion with respect to them.

It was in reply to this secret letter that Cockburn wrote the secret letter bearing date July 17th, supplied by Mr. Dielman, in which he discusses plans for attacking Washington, Annapolis, Baltimore and Philadelphia. This letter for the information of the reader is epitomized as follows:

He suggests that the Army be disembarked at " the Town of Benedict in the Patuxent " which is only 44 or 45 miles from Washington and between which is a highroad " good, tho hilly " passing through Piscataway about 4 miles from Fort Washington, the only fortification the army would have to pass in its way to the city.[4] He expresses the belief that " within 48 hours after arrival in the Patuxent the City of Washington might be possessed without difficulty or opposition of any kind," and the facility and rapidity, after its being first discovered, with which any army by landing at Benedict might possess itself of the Capital, always a great blow to the Government of a country . . . must strongly urge the propriety of the plan. He considers the seizure of Washington before any attempt

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Piscataway was on the road from Port Tobacco to Washington and about midway between the two places. The more direct route to Washington was from Port Tobacco about 50 miles up the Potomac but this required the use of the Eastern Branch Bridge which, it was conjectured, the Americans would destroy. (See *post*, Note 16), James, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-7. The shoals in the Potomac River known as the Kettle Bottoms which never successfully had been negotiated by the big ships in Cockburn's squadron, offered another obstacle to disembarkation at Port Tobacco.

on Annapolis or Baltimore, the proper strategy, inasmuch as they may be then both attacked from the land side with no great difficulty whereas an approach by ships presents difficulties. Annapolis, he writes " is tolerably well fortified . . . and [is] not to be approached by the larger ships on account of the shallowness of the water " and the time taken to occupy it would, of course, be taken advantage of by the enemy to draw together all the force at his command for the defence of Washington. Baltimore, he declares " is likewise extremely difficult of access to us from the sea [bay] " and cannot be approached by ships drawing sixteen feet of water nearer than 7 or 8 miles, situated as it is 12 miles up the Patapsco. In addition, it is protected by a fort, " a work which has been completed by French Engineers with considerable pains and at much expense and is therefore of a description only to be regularly approached and consequently would require time to reduce," and he adds, " from the moment of your arrival in the Chesapeake, let the plan adopted be what it may, a small force detached to the Susquehanna will always prevent or materially impede the arrival of any considerable reinforcements or assistance from the eastern states."

" If," he continues, " Philadelphia is supposed to be an object of greater importance than the places I have just mentioned, I should deem the landing at Elkton the most advisable mode of approaching it through Wilmington. Such a movement need not prevent the use of ships in the Delaware in cooperation." Cockburn then makes this suggestion: " I should here remark that if Washington (as I strongly recommend) be deemed worthy of our first efforts, altho our main forces would be landed in the Patuxent, yet a tolerably good division should at the same time be sent up the Potomac with bomb ships, etc. which will tend to distract and divide the enemy, amuse Fort Washington, if it does not reduce it, and will probably offer other advantages of importance without any counterbalancing inconvenience as the communication between the grand army and this division [i. e. of ships] will be easy and immediate in consequence of a very small space between the Potomac and Patuxent."

" American guides," he declares, " will not be difficult to obtain in this country when we have the force to protect them and the money to pay them." He has one now in his employ " being both a pilot of the rivers and a guide for the roads in this neighborhood."

This secret letter Cockburn enclosed in another in which he said that after a full consideration of everything imparted by Cochrane, he had determined to move from the Patuxent into the Potomac and ascend that river as far as Leonardtown

which has many valuable stores belonging principally to the people of the Democratic Faction and to ascertain the passage past the shoals in the Potomac named The Kettle Bottoms, which ships ordered up that river last year were not able to accomplish, but which I think is essentially important we should discover. These objects, and knowing the black population, inclined to join us, is more numerous on the shores of the

Potomac than anywhere else within the Chesapeake, make me consider that river as the place best adapted for the moment to offer me the advantages in meeting and advancing the views and spirit of your present instructions to me.[5]

In pursuit of these plans, Cockburn moved at once into the Potomac and raided Leonardtown which, however, escaped destruction because he encountered no opposition from the militia or the citizens.

Carrying his raids over to the Virginia shore, he was there opposed by the militia under General Hungerford. In this he found sufficient excuse for pillaging and burning the towns within the area of his incursions, seizing and destroying vessels and carrying off quantities of flour and tobacco.

His visit to these localities and the vigorous measures pursued, it is said, were for the express purpose of misleading the American people "as to the true and ultimate point of attack; harassing the troops and destroying the different depots of military stores established in Virginia and Maryland to clothe and arm the forces intended for the protection of the Capital."[6]

After the receipt of these letters from Cockburn, the troops under General Ross, intended for the expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, having arrived in Bermuda, together with the reinforcements mentioned by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty in their letter of August 10th, Cochrane sailed for the Chesapeake in his 80-gun flagship the *Tonnant* which before her capture by Nelson in the Battle of the Nile had flown the French flag. With him went General Ross and his staff, except Captain Harry Smith, who sailed a few days later (August 3rd) with the troops in a convoy under the protection of the fleet, commanded by Rear Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm.[7]

Cochrane had two definite policies which he intended to pursue:

One had to do with the Negroes. In furtherance of a policy to

[5] Cockburn to Cochrane July 17th. Cockburn Papers, L. C. Div. MSS.

[6] James Scott, *Recollections of a Naval Life* (London, 1834), III, 271. James Scott (later Sir James Scott) with the rank of lieutenant, was an aide-de-camp on Cockburn's staff during the latter's service in the Chesapeake. His "gallant and meritorious conduct" is mentioned in Cockburn's report to Cochrane. Palmer's *Register*, IV, 145.

[7] *Autobiography of Lieut. General Sir Harry Smith*, edited by G. C. Moore Smith (New York, 1902), I, 195. Henry George Wakelyn Smith, known in the annals of the British Army as Sir Harry Smith, was an aide-de-camp on the staff of Major General Ross. See also James' *Naval History of Great Britain* (London, 1859), VI, 174.

enlist and train them as part of his military force, he had prepared and issued before leaving Bermuda, a proclamation inviting them to join his command.[8]

The other was a system of retaliation announced in an order issued at Bermuda on the 18th of July to the senior officer of the blockading squadron which read as follows:

By the Honorable Alexander Cochrane, K. B., &c., &c.

Whereas, by letter from His Excellency Lt. Gen'l Sir George Prevost of the 1st and 2nd of June last, it appears that the American troops in Upper Canada have committed the most wanton and unjustifiable outrages on the unoffending inhabitants, by burning their mills and houses and by a general devastation of private property. And whereas His Excellency has requested that in order to deter the enemy from a repetition of similar outrages I should assist in inflicting measures of retaliation.

You are hereby required and directed to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts as you may find assailable. You will hold strictly in view the conduct of the American Army towards His Majesty's unoffending Canadian subjects, and you will spare merely the lives of the unarmed American inhabitants of the United States. For only by carrying this retaliation into the country of our enemy can we hope to make him sensible of the impolicy as well as the inhumanity of the system he has adopted.

You will take every opportunity of explaining to the people how much I lament the necessity of following the rigorous example of the American forces.

And as these commanders must obviously have acted under instructions from the Executive Government of the United States, whose intimate and unnatural connections with the late Government of France have led them to a system of plunder and devastation, it is therefore to their own Government the unfortunate sufferers must look for indemnification for the loss of their property.

And this order is to remain in force until I receive information from Sir George Prevost that the Executive Government of the United States have come under an obligation to make full remuneration to the injured and unoffending inhabitants of the Canadas for all the outrages their troops have committed.[9]

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[8] The statement in Charles J. Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch of the Second War* (Phila., 1845), II, 159, that Cochrane incited the slaves to revolt against their masters, is without support. Indeed he specifically declared himself in harmony with his Government's direction that such a course should not be pursued. In his letter to Bathurst, July 14th, he wrote "I entirely agree with Your Lordship that no steps should be taken to induce the negroes to rise against their masters. My views as to them are limited to their uses as troops and colonists." Public Record Office, *op. cit., supra.*

[9] *Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier*, by Captain

To this order was attached a secret memorandum authorizing the exception from its drastic commands of " such islands and places which, either from furnishing supplies or being likely to be hereafter occupied by us in furtherance of the objects of the war in which we are all engaged, it may be more advantageous to ourselves to treat with marked lenity and forbearance."

And if, in any descent " it was found expedient to levy a contribution on forbearance of the destruction of property, such a contribution was authorized in proportion to the value of the private property thus spared," it being understood, however, that " the magazines belonging to the Government and their harbors and shipping, were not to be included in this exercise of clemency, but were in all cases to be taken away or destroyed."

This order was issued at the instance and request of Sir George Prevost, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces operating in Canada, and it was prompted by the information furnished him by Sir George Drummond of the burning of the town of Dover on the 14th of May by the American troops under the command of Colonel John B. Campbell, 11th U. S. Infantry, who is reported to have declared it to be in retaliation for the burning by the British forces of Havre de Grace, Buffalo and Lewiston.[10]

The destruction by Campbell of private property having no military significance, had been disavowed by a Court of Inquiry held at Buffalo on June 20th but it is highly improbable that Cochrane had been informed of this.[11]

Cochrane arrived off Tangier Island on August 12th and moved into the mouth of the Potomac to join Cockburn who had made his station there after the marauding expeditions on its shores above

Ernest A. Cruikshank (1896), II, 414. For Prevost's letter to Cochrane, see *ibid.*, II, 402. For an earlier letter (July 30, 1814) from Prevost to Cochrane complaining of the burning of the villages of St. David's and Queenston, by Major General Jacob Brown's troops, see Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, I, 176. Although the correspondence between Prevost and Cochrane can leave no doubt that it was for the destruction of property by the American forces during the campaign of 1814 for which retaliation was requested, the destruction of property when Washington was captured has been claimed to have been retaliation for the destruction of the Government Building by the Americans at York in May, 1813, and also for the destruction of the town of Newark in December of the same year.

A chronicle of the burning of property in Canada by the American forces in the War of 1812 will be found in a bitter letter from the Very Rev. John Strachan of York to Thomas Jefferson January 30th, 1815, printed in the Appendix of *1812; The War and Its Moral*, by William A. Coffin (Montreal, 1864).

[10] Drummond to Prevost May 17th 1814. Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, I, 15. For a list of property destroyed at Dover, see *ibid.*, II, 330-1.

[11] For a report of the Court of Inquiry, see *ibid.*, I, 18.

mentioned. Malcolm passed into the Capes on the 15th and likewise proceeded to the rendezvous in the Potomac.[12]

Here in a conference held by Cochrane and his officers, the suggestions submitted by Cockburn in his secret letter of July 17th of sending ships up the Potomac and to the Upper Chesapeake in connection with an attack on Washington were considered and adopted.[13]

Captain James Alexander Gordon, in command of the Frigate *Sea Horse* with six other vessels including bombers, was sent up the Potomac "with a view of destroying Fort Washington and opening a free communication above as well as to cover the retreat of the Army from Washington."

Fort Washington, also known as Fort Warburton, was located then as now on the western bank of the Potomac twelve miles below Washington and commanded the narrow channel of the Potomac. Up this channel all shipping must pass and no use of the vessels sent up the Potomac could be made by the land forces in retreat with this fort in the enemy's possession.

To the upper part of the Bay, Captain Sir Peter Parker was sent in the Frigate *Menelaus* with several smaller vessels "to divert the enemy in that quarter."[14] Cockburn's suggestion that the army be disembarked at Benedict also was adopted. But his suggestion that Washington be approached from that point by way of Piscataway and the north shore of the Potomac, was discarded.

There were two reasons for this. One was the presence in the Patuxent of Barney's Flotilla, which had made its escape from St. Leonard's Creek, breaking through the British blockade in gallant style.[15]

The second was that an approach by Piscataway would make it

[12] The date of Cochrane's arrival will be found in *Memoir of the Life of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington*, by his daughter, Lady Bouchier (London, 1875), p. 288. Codrington was Cochrane's Captain of the Fleet. The date that Malcolm passed in the Capes is given by George R. Gleig, *Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans* (London, 1836), p. 87.

[13] Smith's *Autobiography*, I, 197, gives the mouth of the Patuxent as the place where this conference took place; but he must have confused the two rivers, as Gordon and Parker were sent off before Cochrane reached the Patuxent. Cochrane's Report, Palmer's *Register*, IV, 138.

[14] Cochrane's Report, *loc. cit.*

[15] A recently written and interesting account of the blockade of Barney and his escape from St. Leonard's Creek, will be found in Hulbert Footner's *Sailor of Fortune* (New York, 1940), Chapter 27.

necessary to cross the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, which, finding its source beyond Bladensburg, emptied into the main river at Greenleaf Point, now included within the limits of the Washington Navy Yard, and on which stands the building occupied by the Army War College. This body of water was not fordable below Bladensburg, and was crossed by two bridges, which, it was assumed by Cochrane, would be destroyed by the American forces.[16]

One of these, known as Stoddert's or Anacostia, was in bad repair and practically out of use. The other, further down stream, known as the Eastern Branch Bridge, gave direct access to Washington through the Navy Yard which at that time extended much further to the east that it does now. It was 1500 feet long with double carriage ways and thirty-feet draws.[17]

These two considerations made an approach to Washington along the right bank of the Patuxent imperative, or as Cochrane reported, Barney's Flotilla "afforded a pretext for ascending the river to attack him nearer its source . . . while the ultimate destination of the combined [British] force was Washington, should it be found that the attempt might be made with any prospect of success." [18]

Cochrane's Fleet, therefore, with the exception of those vessels sent on the missions under Gordon and Parker, left the Potomac for the Patuxent and it was on the evening of the 18th of August that the larger ships "took ground" and came to anchor about two miles below Benedict.

II

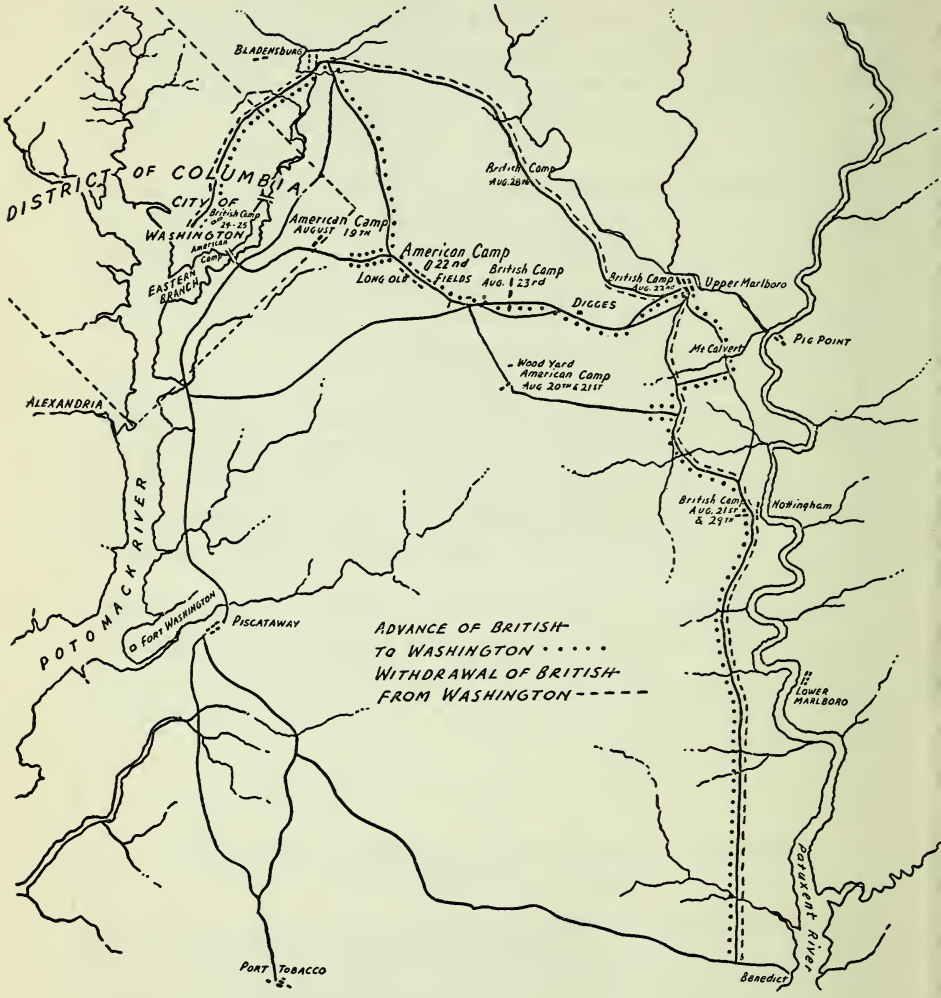
Decision to Take Washington Despite Cochrane's Orders to the Contrary

The plans agreed to between Cochrane and Ross, and which were to be pursued upon reaching Benedict, contemplated activities by the forces under command of each. Ross' troops were to be landed and were to proceed up the western shore of the

[16] Cochrane's Report, *loc. cit.*

[17] These bridges are thus described in a letter from William Tatham to John Armstrong, July 2nd, 1814. Files of the Secretary of War, National Archives, Washingtgon, D. C. The location of the Eastern Branch Bridge is probably that of the Pennsylvania Avenue Bridge which now crosses the same stream.

[18] Cochrane's Report, *loc. cit.*



Map of the Bladensburg Campaign Based on a Map in *Memoirs of My Own Times* by Major General James Wilkinson, published 1816.

Patuxent, while a naval force under the immediate command of Cockburn was to man vessels and boats which were to push up the river, keeping as nearly abreast of the Army as circumstances permitted until contact was made with Barney's Flotilla.

When Nottingham was reached on August 21st it was found that Barney had retired to the upper reaches of the Patuxent beyond Upper Marlboro and had sought a location on its eastern bank near Pig Point, requiring Cockburn to cross to that side. The two commanders now parted company and Ross struck inland with Upper Marlboro as his objective. After a skirmish with the American troops under General William H. Winder, he arrived here in the forenoon of the 22nd, and was rejoined by Cockburn, who after the destruction of Barney's Flotilla, had crossed back to the western shore of the river landing at Mt. Calvert, a few miles below Upper Marlboro.[19]

After a conference between them, it was decided that the attack against Washington, as originally planned, should be undertaken, and the approach through Bladensburg was agreed on.[20] To Bladensburg from Upper Marlboro the British commanders had the choice of two routes. One was a direct connection between the two places.

The other was circuitous. Passing through Battalion Old Fields, where the American Forces were encamped, it gave access to the Eastern Branch Bridge leading directly into Washington, and to points on the Potomac River as well as to Bladensburg. The indirect route was chosen for obvious reasons. It afforded an opportunity of bringing on an engagement with the American Forces at Battalion Old Fields and left their commander, General Winder, in doubt as to Cochrane's and Ross' plans.

In taking the road that led to the Eastern Branch Bridge, they might be attempting to reach Washington by that route; they might be intending to march to the Potomac to join forces with Gordon's Squadron ascending the river or they might be choosing the approach to the Capital by way of Bladensburg—perplexities which General Winder has admitted sorely harassed him as they did also President Madison and the members of his Cabinet who had assumed the role of assistant strategists to the Commander of the American troops.

[19] Cockburn to Cochrane, Aug. 22nd. Palmer's *Register*, IV, 140.
[20] Ross' Report, Palmer's *Register*, IV, 146.

Leaving a marine guard to hold Marlboro, Ross and Cockburn advanced toward the American encampment. They soon encountered Winder's forces which after a skirmish fell back to Battalion Old Fields, followed in the early evening by a withdrawal across the Eastern Branch Bridge into the limits of Washington.

The British proceeded until they reached "Melwood," the estate of Ignatius Digges, about twelve miles from Washington and three miles from Battalion Old Fields. Here on the evening of August 23rd they went into camp without having lost a single man by enemy action since disembarking at Benedict, and that night they saw the sky illumined by the flames destroying Stoddert's Bridge which had been lighted by the American forces.[21]

At "Melwood" occurred an incident of interest and importance which appears to have been neglected by American writers.

Following the decision to attack Washington reached between Ross and Cockburn, the latter had sent his aide, Lieutenant James Scott with a report to Cochrane on the destruction of Barney's Flotilla and of the "intended descent upon the Capital." Upon reaching the Admiral, Scott informs us, a long discussion ensued between him and the Captain of the Fleet, Rear Admiral Codrington. Finally an order was given Scott to be delivered to Cockburn, with the contents of which he was made familiar and which he was directed in case of capture, to "devour."

This order, we are told by Scott, was to the following effect:

> That under all circumstances the Rear Admiral [Cockburn] had already effected more than England could have expected with the force under his orders; that he was on no account to proceed one mile further; but upon receipt of that order, the army was immediately to return to

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[21] Ignatius Digges and his brother William appear to have been close friends of George Washington. The "Chateau" mentioned in Gleig's *Subaltern in America* (Phila., 1833), p. 51, may be identified either as "Melwood" or as the home of the Wests at "The Woodyard." Mrs. West was a sister of Mrs. Francis Scott Key. Both were daughters of Edward Lloyd of "Wye House." Edward S. Delaplaine, *Life of Francis Scott Key* (New York, 1937), p. 140.

It was this bridge that John P. Kennedy saw burning and not The Eastern Branch Bridge as stated by him. H. T. Tuckerman, *Life of John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York, 1871), p. 77; quoted by W. M. Marine in *The British Invasion of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1913), p. 111. Mahan makes this same error in *Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812* (Boston, 1905), p. 345.

The Eastern Branch Bridge was destroyed on the day that the battle of Bladensburg was fought. The British claim to have burned it. Cockburn's report to Cochrane, Palmer's *Register* IV, 145. The Americans claim to have blown it up. *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 567.

Benedict to reembark; that the ulterior and principal objects of the expedition [meaning presumably, that against New Orleans] would be risked by an attempt upon the capital with such inadequate means. The order concluded with a reiteration of the orders to return immediately.

Arriving at Upper Marlboro upon his return, Scott found that the British forces had already started for Washington, leaving a guard to await him. He immediately pushed on and got to " Melwood " at two o'clock in the morning of the 24th. Cockburn was aroused and the order delivered to him, whereupon a conference followed between him and Ross, who declared there was nothing left for them but to return.

But to this Cockburn did not agree, urging that they were too far advanced to think of a retreat.

If we proceed [Scott reports Cockburn as saying] I'll pledge everything that is dear to me as an officer, that we will succeed. If we return without striking a blow, it will be worse than a defeat, it will bring a stain upon our arms. I know their force—the militia, however great their force, will not, cannot stand against your disciplined troops. It is too late, we ought not to have advanced—there is no choice left us. We must go on.

General Ross, who, Scott says, had been apparently much excited, struck his hand against his forehead and exclaimed, " Well, be it so, we will proceed." [22]

It will be recalled that when the British forces left Benedict, the attack upon Washington was to be decided upon after Barney's Flotilla had been disposed of " should it be found that the attempt might be made with any prospect of success." Ross and Cockburn at Upper Marlboro decided that the attempt should be made. Cochrane at Benedict decided that it should not.

While Ross had an independent command co-operating with but not subordinate to Cochrane, no such claim can be made for Cockburn, and thus he appears in the account written by one of his aides as matching disciplinary action for disobedience of orders against the success of an enterprise which he was engaged in forwarding.

Cochrane's conviction that the American forces would not stand against the veterans comprising Ross' troops was matured by his experiences in the Chesapeake. No troops either in Maryland or

[22] Scott, *op. cit.*, III, 279 *et seq.* As this book was published in 1834 when most of the chief actors were living there would appear to be no reason to question its accuracy. Scott died in 1872. Cockburn died in 1853. *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Virginia had been encountered who would stand up and fight the landing parties he had, from time to time, put ashore. One discharge of their weapons and they fled. The behavior of the militia under General Winder at Bladensburg was to exhibit the same pattern.

There is little reason to doubt that Ross and Cockburn were in touch with Gordon's Squadron and that the decision to go on to Washington was made with information as to his progress.[23]

Gordon's ascent of the Potomac had been attended with delays but not those arising from enemy activities. They were purely navigational, and of a character so difficult that when Ross and Cockburn went into camp near Battalion Old Fields on the evening of August 23rd, Gordon was off Point Maryland with Fort Washington still four days ahead.[24]

Breaking camp at " Melwood " at five o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the British advanced along the road to the Eastern Branch Bridge, and through Battalion Old Fields, where the Americans had been encamped.

About four miles from their camp, a road, said to have been little more than path through the forest, ran from the Eastern Branch Bridge Road northerly in the direction of Bladensburg.[25] Instead of turning at once into this road, the British commanders continued on the Eastern Branch Bridge Road, as if in pursuit of the American forces.

The movement, however, proved to be a feint, for having progressed a short distance, they retraced their steps, and turned into the road above mentioned, which brought them out to the highway running directly into Bladensburg from Piscataway and the Potomac River.[26]

It was well they did so, for as anticipated by Cochrane, arrangements had been made by General Winder to destroy the Eastern Branch Bridge should the British attempt to cross it.[27]

[23] Williams says the British command on the night of the 23rd exchanged signals with Gordon's squadron. John S. Williams, *History of the Invasion and Capture of Washington* (New York, 1857), p. 202.

[24] Elers Napier, *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir Charles Napier* (London, 1862), I, 78, where a graphic account of the ascent of the Potomac and the difficulties encountered will be found.

[25] Gleig, *Subaltern in America*, p. 61-2.

[26] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[27] General Winder's " Statement," *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 557.

III

After Capture of Washington Cochrane Decides to Leave the Chesapeake but is Persuaded to Attack Baltimore

The British forces reached Bladensburg about noon on the 24th and immediately thereafter the battle which bears that name was fought and won by them, followed in the evening of the same day by the occupation of Washington and the burning of the public buildings. On the evening of the 25th Ross and Cockburn quietly and swiftly withdrew their troops and set out for the shipping at Benedict by the highway that ran through Bladensburg and Upper Marlboro. On the 29th they were once more in touch with Cochrane's fleet without having encountered any opposition from the American forces.

The troops, however, were suffering from dysentery and while they were recuperating the officers got out their fishing tackle and fowling pieces. The Patuxent, we are told, " abounded in fish. As many as five or six dozen of different kinds were not infrequently taken in nets of a morning and on the shore the woods proved to be full of partridges, quail, hares and above all wild turkey." [28]

The lustre which the destruction of Barney's Flotilla, the victory at Bladensburg and the capture of Washington shed on the British Arms, did not dazzle Cochrane. The relief which he experienced upon the return of the victors to the Fleet and their escape from capture or destruction, was so great that he contemplated no further activities for the time being in the area of the Chesapeake. Cockburn's suggestions as to attacks upon Annapolis, Baltimore and Philadelphia no longer appealed to him. His overwhelming desire was to withdraw.

This is supported by two letters written by him to Bathurst, one on the 28th of August before Ross' troops had returned to Benedict, but with information at hand of the destructive raid on Washington, and one on September 2nd.

In the earlier letter, he requested that four thousand additional troops and marines be sent out immediately in fast sailing ships. " Baltimore may be destroyed or laid under severe contribution," he wrote, " but our present force is not adequate to the attempt without incurring more risk than it would be prudent to do."

[28] Gleig, *Subaltern in America*, p. 99.

He informed Bathurst that he had decided to leave the Chesapeake and try for the reduction of Rhode Island, quartering his force on the country in that locality until the beginning of November. "I have sent a turtle by this vessel," he concludes, "if it survives the voyage, I beg your Lordship's acceptance of it."

Further details of his plans are given in his letter of September 2nd.

> The worst army we have to contend with [he wrote] is the climate—this obliges us to proceed northward; by possessing Rhode Island we will draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter and as they expect the arrival of Lord Hill with a large army, they will consider that the place of rendezvous and New York the place of attack, whose defences are already being looked after.

The neighborhood of the army, he says, will keep the American troops at home and prevent reinforcements to Canada. He hopes reinforcements will reach him before the first of December. He will be leaving Rhode Island by the beginning of November and pointing towards this quarter, i. e., the Chesapeake. Sir Thomas Hardy will remain in the Chesapeake with about 500 marines. This he thinks should keep the Virginians "upon the alert." [29]

The northern campaign, he asserts, will close the middle of December when North and South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana will lie open to attack and he suggests that about 1,000 blacks might be employed upon the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia; Cumberland Island might be seized and inland navigation cut off.

He then proposes to proceed to Mobile and take prompt measures for carrying his troops in boats by Lake Ponchartrain to New Orleans, in which he will be aided by some thousand Indians and by their acquaintance with the locality, and after the fall of that city, he hopes to drive the Americans out of Louisiana beyond the Spanish boundary. All this, he claims, may be accomplished before the month of March and "the keys of the Mississippi placed in the custody of Great Britain." [30]

[29] Sir Thomas W. Hardy, it will be recalled, was the captain of Nelson's ship *Victory* in the Battle of Trafalgar. His ship in the Chesapeake was the *Ramillies*.

[30] Photostats of these letters, taken from the Public Record Office, London, will be found in the Library of Congress, Div. MSS., Vol. 141. These letters and that to Bathurst of July 14th, together with Cochrane's Proclamation, establish beyond controversy that his expedition to the Chesapeake was punitive in character, and negatives the claim that it was part of a grand strategy to strike at the middle of the United States in connection with operations initiated from the Canadian border and from the mouth of the Mississippi. See Gerald W. Johnson, *America's Silver Age* (New York, 1939), p. 92.

Major-General Ross is represented as being in accord with Cochrane's plan not to make an attack on Baltimore at this time. Indeed, his aide-de-camp, Captain Harry Smith, before he sailed for England on the *Iphegenia*, which was sent from the Chesapeake by Cochrane with reports and some of the wounded, claims to have exacted such a promise from him.

This promise, Smith states, was made after he had pressed upon Ross the following considerations:—

(1) We have, by a ruse, induced the enemy to concentrate all his means at Baltimore.
(2) A *coup de main* like the conflagration [at Washington] may be expected once during a war, but can rarely be repeated.
(3) The approach to Baltimore Harbor will be effectually obstructed. ("Oh!" says the General, "so the Admirals say: but they say that in one hour they would open the passage." I laughed. "It is easier said than done, General.") (The passage defied their exertions when tested.)
(4) Your whole army is a handful of men and the half of them are sick from dysentery.
(5) "Your success in the attack on Washington is extraordinary and will have a general effect. Your success on Baltimore will add little to that effect, admitting you were successful, which I again repeat I doubt, and the reverse before Baltimore would restore the Americans' confidence in their own power and wipe away the stain of their previous discomfiture." The General says: "I agree with you. Such is my decided opinion." "Then Sir, may I tell Lord Bathurst you will not go to Baltimore?" He said "Yes." I was delighted for I had a presentiment of disaster.[31]

Cockburn and Lieutenant George DeLacy Evans, Ross' deputy quartermaster general, it is said, were in favor of an immediate attack on Baltimore. If so, their counsel prevailed, for no sooner had the *Iphegenia* sailed than Cochrane and Ross each reversed his decision not to engage in this enterprise at this time.[32]

The reason assigned for this shift in his plans as set out by Cochrane in his Report (written after the failure of the enterprise) was that "The approaching equinoctial moon" rendered it "unsafe to proceed immediately out of the Chesapeake" to act upon the plans of proceeding to Rhode Island as disclosed in his letter of September 2nd to Lord Bathurst above mentioned, and it was now determined to occupy the intermediate time to

[31] Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 206-7.
[32] Smith claims that it was not only Cockburn and Evans who urged an attack on Baltimore but also Cochrane. *Autobiography*, I, 206.

advantage in what he in his Report called a " demonstration on the City of Baltimore, which might be converted into an attack should circumstances appear to justify it." [33]

No record has been found of the date on which Cochrane and Ross reversed their decisions not to attack Baltimore, but it was on September 6th that Cochrane left the Patuxent. After a visit to Tangier Island he went to Blakistone Island in the Potomac. Meantime Cockburn had been ordered to Bermuda and had already made progress toward the Capes which mark the entrance to the Chesapeake when he was signalled on September 7th to return and join Cochrane in the Potomac.[34] Here Cochrane remained until Gordon returned with his squadron which had ascended that river.

The successful completion by Gordon of this assignment deserves high rank in the annals of the British Navy. Not yet thirty years of age, Gordon had already lost an arm and a leg in the service of king and country. Although he had not encountered a hostile shot in ascending the Potomac and was spared an assault on Fort Washington by the cowardice of the commanding officer, who blew it up without offering the slightest resistance, on his return he had to fight off fireships let loose on him by Commodore Rodgers and had to run batteries on the south shore of the Potomac under command of Commodore David Porter, hero of the *Essex* and batteries on the north shore under command of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, hero of Lake Erie. Yet he brought his squadron down the river, not only without the loss of a ship with which he had gone up, but with twenty-one additional vessels captured at Alexandria and loaded with merchandise and supplies taken from the inhabitants of that city. His casualties were seven killed and twenty-three wounded.[35]

From this rendezvous in the Potomac, Cochrane in the *Tonnant* and Cockburn in the *Albion* set sail on the 10th for the Patapsco for which a number of the lighter vessels had already left. It was in the early morning of the 12th that the British forces landed at North Point, followed on the same day by the battle which bears that name.[36]

[33] Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 17th. Palmer's *Register*, IV, 206. A photostat of this report will be found in the Library of Congress, Div. MSS.
[34] Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
[35] Gordon's report to Cochrane. Palmer's *Register*, IV, 160.
[36] Log of the *Albion* for September 10th, Cockburn's Papers, Library of Congress, Div. MSS.

READING INTERESTS OF MARYLAND PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS 1700-1776

By Joseph Towne Wheeler

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, p. 41)

The Carroll Family

The letterbooks of Henry Callister, the well-read planter and tobacco factor whose interests in natural history and literature have already been described, give an insight into the literary tastes and culture of a small Maryland planter. The picture of the reading interests of the planter class as a whole is not complete without a discussion of the private libraries of that relatively small but influential group of wealthy planters who held a position of prominence in the social and political life of the colony. Perhaps the best source for studying the reading tastes of a southern planter is the diary of William Byrd of Westover.[1] Unfortunately, no such mine of information about the daily happenings of a Maryland planter is available. However, the letterbooks of the Carroll family are a most useful substitute.

Of that Irish noble family which provided Maryland with so many distinguished sons during the eighteenth century, the first descendant to arrive in the colony was Charles Carroll, who came in 1688 with a commission as Attorney General. Later that same year, when the Protestant party overthrew the Catholic proprietary government of Lord Baltimore, Carroll's short term as Attorney General came to an abrupt end. Although the Catholics remained in disfavor throughout most of the later colonial period, this man soon acquired property and influence in the colony. In 1711, he succeeded his father-in-law, Colonel Henry Darnall, as Register of the Land Office, and in addition to the lucrative revenues derived from this position, he found his experience invaluable in his subsequent extensive land speculations. Charles Carroll of Annapolis and his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton were descended from this successful planter and officeholder.[2]

[1] Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712.* (Richmond, 1941.)

[2] For table showing Carroll genealogy with the intermarriages with the Darnalls, Digges and Brookes families see J. Hall Pleasants, "Justus Englehardt Kuhn, an Early Eighteenth Century Maryland Portrait Painter," *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society* 46(1936) pp. 243-280.

Dr. Charles Carroll and Charles Carroll, Barrister

Dr. Charles Carroll (1691?-1755), a Protestant representative of the family, came to the colony about 1715 to practice medicine. Soon discovering there were more profitable occupations than medicine he became successively a planter, ship-builder, land speculator and part-owner of a large iron business. Most of his wealth was derived from his land holdings and from his share in the Baltimore Iron Company.

It is not the purpose here to show the gradual growth of his wealth and social prominence in the colony, although this phase of his life has been neglected. The letterbooks which he kept from 1723 until his death in 1755 contain a wealth of material on the economic history of Maryland, together with some information about his reading interests.[3] Like many of the other Maryland planters, he ordered his books directly from England. Apparently he had a large collection of law books which he kept up-to-date by importations from abroad. In 1742, Dr. Charles Carroll gave his London agents directions to send him law books to the value of two guineas and mentioned his special interests:

> I must also Desire the favour that with these goods you will favour me by ordering Your Book Seller to Enquire and Procure for me to be sent with the Inclosed Goods The best and Latest Edditions of Any Books of Presidents of the method and manner of Parliamentary Proceedings or Abstracts of such Cases out of Sir Symon Deces or such Authors or other good and Authentick Journals of the Parliament of Great Britain not Exceeding in Value Two Guineas.[4]

Among the subjects which attracted his interest were geography and travel, and, while his son was in England, he had him send back the best books on these subjects. He also directed his London correspondents to send a collection of maps and general books:

> Maps of Europe Asia Africa and America of the best and latest Cutts and Largest (2) John Bowles at the Black Horse Corn hill (all Separate).

[3] Extracts from the letterbooks then in the possession of Alexander Preston were published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII to XXVII (1923-1932), and with a few gaps due to missing letterbooks present an outstanding source of information on eighteenth century Maryland. There is no good biographical sketch of Dr. Charles Carroll.

[4] *Maryland Historical Magazine* XX (1925) 177. Dr. CC to Philpot & Lee, 24 Nov. 1742.

Planisphere of the Teristrial Globe latest Cutt.
A Mapp of North Carrolina, by Edward Mosely made in 1743 dedicated to Gabriel Johnson Gov[r] sold at the 3 Crowns over against Minceing lane in Fan Church street.
Present State of Great Britain Last Eddition Printed.
The latest and best Eddition of the Perrage of England Scotland and Ireland pray Consult Your Book Seller to have them by the Author.
The best Eddition of Plutarcks Lives in English.
Popes Works.
Dryden's Virgil.[5]

His letters to his son show him to have been an indulgent father whose ambition was that the boy should have every opportunity for advancement.[6] Young Carroll was educated in Portugal for a short time, and then went to England. He entered Cambridge University in 1742, and returned to Maryland four years later. He decided to become a lawyer and, in 1751, he returned to London to study at the Middle Temple. While he was there he frequently purchased law books for his father's use:

I desire you will get the best Edition of Bacons Abridgement, all the Volums that are Extant and send me a Sett of them as M[r] Dulany will soon Return The Wigg Spectacles and those Books put into a Small Box will come Safe by him. There is a particular Collection of all the Statutes & Laws against Papists made into a Volum w[ch] if you can meet send me the latest Eddition thereof.[7]

Carroll was by no means a brilliant student and his father frequently wrote urging him to apply himself more diligently. Often the father listed books which he would like to see, and asked his son to be on the lookout for interesting material.

I Received your sundry Letters as pr Dates in the Margin and also the Books and Wiggs and the Volume of Bolinbrok Works as also Lord Orrerys Charles Boyle, earl of Orrery Remarks on Swift for which I am obliged and shall be glad to have the Remainder of Bolinbrokes as they are Published and an opportunity offers.

I would not willingly give you any Trouble to do any thing that might divert you from the Main Point, the Attention to your Study; upon which depends your future Credit, nor wo[d] I have you undertake any thing that way from others.

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[5] *Ibid.*, XXI (1926) 249. Dr. CC to Wm. Black, 9 Mar. 1744.
[6] See Dr. W. Stull Holt's interesting sketch "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man," in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* XXXI (1936) 112-126.
[7] *Maryland Historical Magazine* XXIV (1929) 258. Dr. CC to his son, 24 Sept. 1751.

If at your Leisure Hours you see in the Print-Shops A good New Planesphere of the latest Discoverys on this Globe shall be Glad you send me one. Anything of this Kind you think worth sending you may get Mr Black to put up with any other things he may be sending to me. . . . By the Marks you have made on Several Books in the Bibliotheca Legum sent me, I make no Doubt of yr Good Choice of Authors as well as Reading & Digesting of them.[8]

Carroll requested his father to send a copy of the Maryland laws for use in connection with his studies at the Middle Temple. He may have asked for the edition of 1718, which was compiled from the revisions made at the order of Queen Anne and contained the basic laws for the remainder of the colonial period. His father seems to have felt that Park's *Compleat Collection,* published at Annapolis in 1727, was the more valuable compilation but he was unable to secure a copy. It was indeed this scarcity of copies of the laws and the imperfect nature of Park's compilation which led Bacon to undertake his well-known revision in 1753. Dr. Charles Carroll's letter was written the year before:

I could not meet with a Compleat Body of our Laws to send you as I intended and have therefore sent you that Old one you desired, wch I hope Judd will deliver safe I think I need not say much on any Head as the main one you are upon is the attaining the Knowledge of the Law that nothing should Divert Your attention from that Point.

I must refer to yr self to make Choice of the best Authors wch I presume are those of Modern Date and as I before observed you are sencible that hear the Councel must be Soliciter and Attorney Therefore Drawing the Pleading is a Necessary Point of Knowledge for the Practice here.[9]

It is strange that among the requests for books which Dr. Carroll sent to his son and his London agents no medical titles were mentioned. From this it might appear that he gave up all his interest in medicine soon after his arrival in the colony.

While young Charles Carroll was in England preparing for the legal profession, John Henry, the second son, was being educated in the colony. In 1745, Dr. Carroll wrote for a set of the classics which his son was to use:

[I] . . request Your favour in precureing your Book seller to get the latest and best Edditions of the following Books and send them in one of Your first Ships comeing this way the cost of which place to my

[8] *Ibid.,* 370. Dr. CC to his son, 24 July 1752.
[9] *Ibid.,* 378. Dr. CC to his son, 22 Sept. 1752.

Account. As the times are Very precarious and many of our ships taken I desire you will send a Second Set of the same Books by an other good Safe Ship coming up to this part of the Bay Your favour will Oblige.
Virgilius in usum Delphini per Lanson
Horatius Ditto
Cesaris Commentarie 8vo Dr. Clerks Eddition
Clarks Nepos
Salnot Suetonius
Terentio in Usum Delphini
Ciceronis Officia Edit. Oxon
Clerks Introduction to makeing Lattin
Kennetts Roman Antiquities Latest Edition [10]

He planned to have this son become a merchant and arranged for him to work in a Philadelphia counting house where he could get practical experience:

Mr. Nicholas Maccubbin wrote you some time Past in Relation to a youth to be Put to a merchant at your Town of Good Repute and in full Business this He Did at my Request as I wanted to Put my son into such a Place to Acquire Knowledge in Mercantile Affairs. If it will suit you to take Him I will pay you for His Board Lodging and Washing and such Instructions as may Be Proper in your Counting House & Store Thirty Pounds Sterg pr Annum for three Years in which Time I Conceive He may Be fit for Business and in the mean time He will Be serviceable to you. I will allso find him in Clothing of all sorts and Pay any Writeing Arithmeticall or Mathematical Masters you shall judge Proper to Instruct Him. He is a Youth of Good Temper, Integrety and Honour for which and Intire Honesty I will Engage. If you accept of this offer I will send Him up as soon as I shall Hear from you which I desire may Be By the Post if no Quicker opportunety as yet have no call to Draw on you for the Produce of my Bills.

The young boy died of consumption a few years later, and this tragic loss was one of the main reasons given by the lonely father when he asked his elder son to return home.

Charles Carroll, Barrister, returned to Annapolis in 1755, only a few months before his father died. Although there are not many references to books in Dr. Charles Carroll's correspondence, the impression one receives in reading his letters to his business associates is that he was a cultured gentleman, well able to uphold his end of a conversation on nearly any subject, and an authority on medicine and law.

[10] *Ibid.*, XXI (1926) 259. Dr. CC to John Hanburry 8ber 1745.
[11] *Ibid.*, XXIII (1928) 167. Dr. CC to Mr. Reese Meredith, 12 Oct. 1749.

The letterbooks of Charles Carroll, Barrister (1723-1783), are almost complete from 1755 to June 1769, and contain many references to books. One of the first things he did after his father's death was to pay up a few debts to tradesmen in London, including nearly twenty pounds he owed a bookseller.[12] He then wrote for " a Complete set of the Gentlemans Magazine from as far back as you Can get them to the Present Time And a Book Called the History of Taxes." [13]

A few years later he wrote his London agent asking him to pick out a gardener who would be willing to come to Maryland under an indenture for five or seven years.[14] Like Governor Sharpe, he had a greenhouse and ordered a thermometer for it.[15] In 1760, he bought a copy of Miller's *Gardening Dictionary.* He sent for the seeds which he could not get in Maryland, though frequently he also failed to find them in London. In 1766, he copied a long list of seeds from Hale's *Complete Body of Husbandry,* and asked his agents to get as many of them as possible. In addition to the various kinds of grass seeds he wanted for planting eight acres of meadowland, he asked for broccoli, celery and beet seeds for his garden. He asked particularly that the seeds be put in the cabin or some dry place, for he had lost a large quantity of grass seed the year before because it had been stored in a damp hold and had sprouted during the long voyage.[16] He used Miller's *Dictionary* frequently and referred to it in describing the variety of peach and apricot trees which he wished to plant in his garden. He said, " The Nusery [*sic*] Man may Look into Millars Gardners Dictionary where he will See the Names of Each. . . ." [17] His wife also took an interest in the garden:

> My wife takes much Pleasure in Gardening and sends you a List of Peaches of Each of which She would be Glad if you would send some of the Stones of those of them than Can be met with Tied up in Different Parcels and the names of Each wrote on the Parcel. . . .[18]

In 1768, his gardener's indenture ended, so he wrote to a merchant in Bristol:

[12] Charles Carroll, Barrister, letterbook, 173. CC to J. Stewart. c. 1756.
[13] *Ibid.,* 175. CC to William Perkins, 21 Oct. 1756.
[14] *Ibid.,* 232. CC to William Anderson, 29 Jan. 1760.
[15] *Ibid.,* 236.
[16] *Ibid.,* 315. CC to William Anderson, 29 Oct. 1766.
[17] *Ibid.,* 327. CC to William Anderson, 20 July 1767.
[18] *Ibid.,* 327. CC to William Anderson, 20 July 1767.

I am in want of a Gardiner that understands a Kitchen Garden well, and Grafting, Budding Inoculating and the management of an orchard and Fruit Trees Pretty well. . . .[19]

He was interested in the agricultural reforms that were being made in England and bought nearly everything he could find on the subject. Among the books which he ordered were:

a new and Compleat System of Practical Husbandry by John Mills Esquire Editor of Duhamels Husbandry Printed by John Johnson at the monument Essays on Husbandry Essay the first on the Antient and Present State of Agriculture and the Second on Lucern Printed for William Frederick at Bath 1764 Sold by Hunter at Newgate Street or Johnston in Ludgate Street.[20]

He also ordered the last edition of Henry Bracken, *Farmery Improved or a Compleat Treatise on the Art of Farmery* and a copy of the *Gardiner's Kallender,* which gave advice as to the best time of the year to plant crops.

Usually once a year, in September or October, when the tobacco vessels left, he sent off his order and received the goods the following spring or summer. The annual letters to his agents in London contain many references to the books he wanted. In 1760 he wrote:

I shall be obliged if you send to Millar in the strand [21] or to your own Bookseller to send me the monthly Reviews by every first opportunity after the Publishing them and any very good Pamphlet when Published but would not have more sent than will amount to about thirty shillings a year w^ch^ Please to pay and Charge me with.[22]

Carroll seems to have enjoyed, more than any other Marylander whose library has been studied, the ephemeral pamphlets of the day on all subjects from politics to the last minute confessions of criminals. In 1764 he reminded his agent not to forget the pamphlets:

I Shall be obliged if you^l^ Direct your Book Seller (I hope he is a man of Taste) to Send me in yearly about 15 or 20 Shillings of the Best Political

[19] *Ibid.,* 341. CC to Messrs. Sedgley Hillhouse & Randolph, Merchants, 28 Jan. 1768.

[20] *Ibid.,* 305. CC to William Anderson, 2 Nov. 1765.

[21] Andrew Millar of whom Dr. Johnson said: "I respect Millar, Sir; he has raised the price of literature." See *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1726-1775.* London, 1932. Pp. 171-173.

[22] Charles Carroll Barrister letterbook, 240. CC to William Alexander, 13 Sept. 1760.

and other Pamphlets Especially any that Relate to the Interest and Circumstances of the Colonies or the Monthly Reviews but none of Religious Controversy it is Some Amusement to Learn from your Authors and their works of wit how things Pass with you. He may forward them as opportunity offers.[23]

In 1767 he wrote for two interesting pamphlet collections in addition to his parcel of the best publications of the year:

A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts which were Published in England and America on the Subject of Taxing the American Colonies and Regulating Their Trade in two volum's Bound. A Collection of the most Esteemed Political Tracts which appeared During the years 1763 64-65 and 66 in four or five volumes bound.[24]

He kept an eye on all his accounts and, in 1768, caught the London bookseller in some sharp practices:

My Master Strahon has charged me with two vol[s] of Reviews for 1767 and has not sent them Another Pamphlet Published in 1766 he has Sent me and with a Pen altered the Date to 1768 I have it not here at the moment now or I would Inclose it to him. Pray tell him that I Expect the Reviews—Besides the Cur has no Taste in his Choice of Pamphlets Let him Know unless I am better Served shall apply to Some other Bookseller.[25]

Judging from his purchases, his favorite reading was a combination of history and agriculture, though he by no means limited himself to these subjects. Apparently he owned a copy of Rapin's *History of England,* probably purchased while he was in England. In 1760, he wrote for the "Continuation of Rapins History of England by Tindall."[26] In 1764, he wrote for the four volume edition of Sir William Temple's *Works* and a four volume edition of Lord Shaftsbury's *Works* containing his letters. He also asked for Lord Molesworth's *Account of Denmark* (1692), Bishop Robinson's *Account of Sweden,* and Geoffrey Keating's *History of Ireland* or "the best Irish History Published."[27] Several years later he asked for D'Avila's *History of the Civil Wars in France* in English, Pompadour's *Memoirs* translated from the French, Tacitus's *History and Annals* and Cardinal de Retz's *Memoirs* in

[23] *Ibid.,* 284. CC to William Anderson, 4 Oct. 1764.
[24] *Ibid.,* 322-3. CC to William Anderson, 24 Feb. 1767.
[25] *Ibid.,* 346. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 21 July 1768. The bookseller to whom he refers was probably William Strahan.
[26] *Ibid.,* 239. CC to William Anderson, Sept. 1760.
[27] *Ibid.,* 280. CC to William Anderson, 20 Oct. 1764.

translation.[28] In 1765, he sent for Voltaire's *Age of Louis XIV* in English and Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws,* and in 1767, he asked for Jean D'Alembert's *Analysis of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws.*[29] He probably owned a copy of Smollett's *History* and, in 1763, he ordered "Smollett's Continuation of his Compleat History of England four or five vol." At the same time he asked for "The Latest and best history of the Establishment, Government Laws & Trade of all the British Colonies in America." He said, "This I leave to Master Strahan's Judgment as I have not Seen Any Character or Account of Any Late Publication. A Book Called the British Empire in America Let Him Know I have lest he should send it in."[30] The book which he had was probably the second edition of John Oldmixon's *British Empire in America,* published in 1741, and by this time very much out of date.

He continued his law studies but apparently did not practice because his business affairs consumed most of his time and attention. His law library, gathered in connection with his studies at Middle Temple, probably supplied most of his needs, though he imported a few additional titles. In 1768, he wrote for "The Act of Parliament to Explain amend and Reduce into one act the Several Statutes now in being for the amendment and Preservation of the Public High ways in England, it was Passed I believe in 1766 or 1765."[31] It may be that he was planning a campaign to improve the roads in and around Annapolis; in a letter a few months later he said, "Our Streets are bad for Carriages at Night."[32]

In contrast to many of his contemporaries, he was not greatly interested in religion. But after his marriage, in 1763, to Margaret Tilghman, he bought a few religious titles. In 1766, he ordered "The new weeks Preparation for Receiving the Lords Supper wrote by the author of the whole Duty of man and Published by the King's authority."[33] At the same time he wrote for Nelson's *Festivals,* and, the following year, he wrote for another title which might be termed a religious book although it contained a good many political implications: "the Spiritual and Temperal

[28] *Ibid.,* 322-3. CC to William Anderson, 24 Feb. 1767.
[29] *Ibid.,* 305. CC to William Anderson, 2 Nov. 1765.
[30] *Ibid.,* 342. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 31 Jan. 1768.
[31] *Ibid.,* 350. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 21 July 1768.
[32] *Ibid.,* 356. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 15 Dec. 1768.
[33] *Ibid.,* 318. CC to Wm. & James Anderson, 29 Oct. 1766.

Liberty of Subjects in England in two Parts by Anthony Ellis Late Bishop of St. Davids." [34]

In addition to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the annual consignment of miscellaneous pamphlets, he ordered the *Monthly Review* and doubtless enjoyed selecting book titles from the reviews and notices in it. In 1767 he wrote for:

Monthly Reviews from 1760 to the Present Year from R Griffith Paternoster Row And Send the volum for Each Year after as Published.[35]

The bookseller neglected to send the latest volume, so he wrote again:

Direct your Book Seller to send me in the Monthly Review for this year 1767 as those he sent me Come to December 1766. And to send me the volum Every year to Continue my set.[36]

The classics were not neglected in his book orders from 1755 to 1769, the period for which his letterbooks have been preserved. He bought copies of the works of the two Roman historians, Sallust and Tacitus, to supplement his historical library, and in 1767, asked for Francis's edition of Horace or a recent translation by Duncombe which had been published by Dodsley. He bought Machiavelli's *Political Discourses on Livy,* translated from the Italian.[37]

Judging from his orders, he was apparently at least as much interested in medicine as his father. Among the medical titles he ordered were: Sir John Pringle, *On the Diseases of the Army* and " Account of the most usual Causes of Popular Diseases of the Danger of the Common Methods that are taken before a Physician is Called in and Plain Directions what is Proper to be Done from Doctor Tyssots advice to the People translated from the French of Doctor Tyssot by Doctor Kirkpatrick Lately Published. . . ." [38] Dr. Samuel A. Tissot's *Avis aux Peuple sur la Santé* was very popular in the eighteenth century and went through many editions in the original and in the English translation.[39]

He may have owned a collection of English literature, but, other

[34] *Ibid.,* 339. CC to William Anderson, 17 Nov. 1767.
[35] *Ibid.,* 322-3. CC to William Anderson, 24 Feb. 1767.
[36] *Ibid.,* 338. CC to William Anderson, 29 Oct. 1767.
[37] *Ibid.,* 299. CC to William Anderson, 9 Oct. 1765.
[38] *Ibid.,* 299. CC to William Anderson, 9 Oct. 1765.
[39] *Bibliotheca Osleriana.* (Oxford, 1929). Number 4108.

than the few classics which have been already mentioned, he did not order this type of book from abroad. He did, however, buy Matthew Prior's *Dialogues of the Dead,* a series of four imaginary conversations between prominent people, and Samuel Johnson's *English Dictionary* in a folio edition.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1832), the heir of the Catholic branch of the Carroll family in Maryland, and one of the most distinguished citizens in the colony, was a lover and user of books throughout his long life. Much of his correspondence with his father, while he was studying abroad from 1748 to 1765, has been preserved, together with copies of his father's replies. These letters are filled with interesting references to books and show both father and son to have been appreciative readers of the many books to which they had access.[40]

In 1750, when he was only thirteen years old, he wrote from the Jesuit College of Saint-Omer in France, where he was then studying, that he had " an extream kind master " and that he would endeavor to make himself " a learned man." [41] There was a tender bond of sympathy and understanding between the father and his only son, and in all his letters the older man treated him as an intellectual equal. While living in France he began to read law and in 1757 he wrote:

> I have allmost read the 1st book of Justinian de Institutionibus; I make a little compendium as I go along.[42]

A month and a half later he was still struggling with Justinian's *Institutes*:

> Alltho' the civill Law be a very dry and difficult study, I hope by my application and his assistance to acquire a sufficient knowledge of it in two years time. A Common place book is somewhat different from a Compendium, but a Compendium is more necessary for that part of the law I

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[40] Kate M. Rowland quoted some of the Carroll letters in her *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York, 1898). Thomas M. Field published about seventy-five more in *Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and his Father* (New York, 1902). In 1889 a trunk was deposited at the Maryland Historical Society which, when opened in 1913, was found to contain over seven hundred additional letters. Most of these were published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

[41] *Maryland Historical Magazine* X (1915) 147. CC to Papa, 24 Sept. 1750.

[42] *Ibid.,* 156. CC to Papa, 28 Dec. 1757.

at present apply to vd the Institutes. The Institutes are a concinct picture or to speak more planely a most excellent epitome of the whole Roman law; consequently they must be somewhat obscure and difficult. The Compendium I make contains the principal articles and definitions, with some explication and remarks upon the most difficult parts in that work.[43]

He led a retired life, refusing invitations to card games and parties because, as he puts it, "Frequenting thus regularly such company brings on a great loss of time." In a letter written later that year he told his father and mother how he spent his leisure time:

My chief nay my allmost only amusement is reading; I find no conversation more agreable than that of Horace's a Virgil's a Racin's &c. their company is instructive and at the same time agreable, monent et mulcent sometimes I forsake the Poets & prefer to the Mellodious harmony of the muses the profitable and faithfull lessons of History; here I learn to be wise at the expense of others and to attain to true glory by the example of the great good & just. These and such like amusements are now and then interrupted by others of a quite different nature.[44]

Before leaving France he planned to gather a collection of the best Latin authors in the original. His allowance was not enough to cover the cost of the books, so he drew on his father's agent:

Perhaps I shall be obliged to draw upon Mr. Perkins once on this side of the water in order to make a collection of all the Latin Classick authors.[45]

Since he found the classics he wanted would cost nearly a hundred guineas, he decided to wait until he could buy them at more favorable terms. In the meantime, he wrote for a list of the French books in his father's library in order that he would not duplicate them:

I desired you in my last to send me a list of all the french books you have by you. I intend, with your leave, to buy their best authors, as for example Boileau, Rousseau, Voltaire: the later has lately published a new & correct edition of all his works. I proposed likewise by your advice to get the Classicks of the 4° edition in usum Delphini; but as they are so excessively dear (for I am informed they cost about a 100 guineas) I must go without 'em; perhaps they may be had at a better rate in England. It wou'd be ridiculous to have studied Latin 6 years & forget it for want of books.[46]

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[43] *Ibid.*, 157. CC to Papa, 4 Feb. 1758.
[44] *Ibid.*, 221. CC to Papa and Mama, 14 June 1758.
[45] *Ibid.*, 219. CC to Papa, 11 Feb. 1758.
[46] *Ibid.*, 231. CC to Papa, 17 Jan. 1759.

The list arrived several months later and he acknowledged it, saying that he did not intend to buy too extensively of contemporary French literature:

I thank you kindly for the list you sent me of your french books, & the permission you give me of buying such as I think proper; I shall not make an ill use of it; I intend only to buy such as are usefull & entertaining & the most esteemed in the french language, for example their best Dramatick poets and some others as Boileau Rousseau &c. I have all ready bought a fine, new & correct in 4° edition of all Cicero's works by l'abbe d'olivet. The edition in usum Delphine does not comprise all Cicero's works & is not near so much esteemed as what I have.[47]

On September 27, 1759, he wrote that he had safely arrived in England and was ready to continue his legal studies there. He mentioned the fact that he had bought " a good number of french books " and would send a list of them.[48]

He did not formally enter an inn of court to study law, because of the rules against admitting Catholics, but he enjoyed most of the privileges granted to regular members. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to see if he could borrow some of the law books formerly used by his grandfather, the first of the Maryland Carrolls, who had entered Middle Temple in 1685:

As my Grand Father went thro' a regular study of the law in the temple he must have had a considerable number of law books: these I suppose, remain in a great measure in your hands: wou'd it be improper to send me such as are the most useful & necessary? law books are extremely dear: this would save a considerable expense. . . .[49]

The remnants of his grandfather's law library arrived in September of the same year:

The books sent by Capt. Coolidge are safe arrived; those that want binding I shall take care to get bound, those that are double or are of a bad or too old edition shall be sold and replaced by others of a later and better.[50]

To his father's request that he read over the ephemeral pamphlets as they came out and pick out the most significant ones to send him, he replied:

You have laid a very heavy task upon me, but very undesignedly I dare say. I mean the reading of all the pamphlets that make their appearance

[47] *Ibid.*, 239. CC to Papa, 14 Aug. 1759.
[48] *Ibid.*, 240. CC to Papa and Mama, 27 Sept. 1759.
[49] *Ibid.*, 250. CC to Papa, 29 Jan. 1760.
[50] *Ibid.*, 326. CC to Papa, 16 Sept. 1760.

in this town for a day or two, then die, are buried & forgotten. Without troubling myself with the perusal of such nonsense I shall be able to send you those that merit your reading; for such recommended by their own intrinsic value will be talked of by the Publick. There is at present one that has met with publick approbation, and very deservedly; but of this you will yourself be better able to judge after having red it. Its entitled a Letter to two great men.[51]

In May, 1760, Charles Carroll wrote to ask his father if he had read Hume's *History of Great Britain* (1754-1757), saying that if he had not, he had " a great Satisfaction to come or I am mistaken." [52] In March 1761, he wrote:

As Mr Hume is continuing his history of England, I thought it wou'd be better to buy the whole entire work at once than by peace meals: that is the reason of my not sending by the fleet the 2 volus already published. Pray let me have a list of yr English books to prevent buying the same books over again.[53]

Typical of the consignment of books for his father was that which he sent in 1764:

Capt Kelly will deliver you this and the following books & Pamphlets: the natural history of Kamschatska: Orme's history of Indostan lately published: the second volume of Warner's Irish history is not yet come out: Gahagan's cannot be had at present there being none in town. Lord Clives letter, 2 numbers of the votes of the house of Commons, the newspapers & one magazine: the royal french Almanack, 6 Pamphlets relative to the Jesuites. . . .[54]

He returned to the colony in February, 1765, after sixteen years' absence. Most of the correspondence between father and son after this date was on the various problems which arose in administering their large plantations and landed interests. There were but few references to books in the letters which passed between them. In 1770, Charles Carroll wrote to ask his son to provide him with some new reading matter:

Pray send me the news Papers by Mr Ashton & Magazines & Pamphlets if you have any new ones. Do not forget to write to Graves about the Remaining Volumes of Vitruvius Britannicus & to send you Mr Arthur Youngs 6 weeks Tour thro the southern Countries of England and Wales,

[51] *Ibid.*, 250. CC to Papa, 29 Jan. 1760.
[52] *Ibid.*, 324. CC to Papa, 16 May 1760.
[53] *Ibid.*, 339. CC to Papa, 28 March 1761.
[54] *Ibid.*, XII (1917) 39. CC to Papa, 21 March 1764.

informing Him th^t you Have His 6 months Tour thro the north of Ireland in four Volumes. Desier Him also to send you The Maison Rustique there are severall Vols but How many I know not.[55]

The letterbook of Charles Carroll of Carrollton from 1770 to 1774 has been preserved in addition to the letters between father and son.[56] Frequent references to books and his interest in reading show that, although in his correspondence with his father after his return to the colony he did not mention his reading, he was buying books and enjoying them in his leisure time. In 1771, he asked his friend Edmund Jennings to get him a few books:

Has Voltaire published any late tracts, I mean since the year 1768? I have all his works to that time. If he has, you would oblige me by sending them to me, & be pleased to apply to Messrs. P.R. on my account for payment of these or any other late publications you may think worth my perusal. I have Robertson's History of Charles ye 5^th^, ye first volume of which I think instructive & entertaining; I can discover no great merit in the others. Has Hume published anything of late? Is it thought he will bring his history of England as low as ye present times? [57]

In 1772, he asked William Graves, a London correspondent, to send him several books and to give him his opinion of the *Modern Universal History*:

Be pleased to add to the books I have already wrote for, & to such as you may think proper to send me, the following: Monsieur Mongault's translation in French of Cicero's letters to Atticus, Paris edition; Ross' remarks on Cicero's familiar epistles, the 4^th^ volume of Hooke's Roman History. I bought of Payne the 3 volumes in quarto which were published when I was in England, and to compleat the set I should be glad to have the 4^th^. Pray in what estimation is the Modern Universal History? As it is composed by several hands, I imagine it must be an unequal work, yet perhaps in ye whole worth having. I find it frequently quoted by Blakstone.[58]

That same year he wrote acknowledging a shipment of books from Graves, giving his opinions of the titles enclosed. Among them were *Les Questions sur l'Encyclopedie, L'Evangile du Jour,* d'Auteroche's *Travels* in a beautifully illustrated edition, and Hooke's *Roman History.* He asked his friend to send Mongault's

[55] *Ibid.,* XIII (1918) 63. CC to Charley, 11 Oct. 1770. Graves was probably a merchant. His name is not found in *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1726-1775.*

[56] Published in part in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXII (1937) 193-225.

[57] *Ibid.,* 198. CC to Jennings, 9 Aug. 1771.

[58] *Ibid.,* 212. CC to Graves, 17 March 1772 .

French translation of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus,* Ross's *Remarks on Cicero's Familiar Epistles,* Clarendon's *Life* and *History of the Rebellion,* and the *Modern Universal History.* In reply to his friend's remarks that he might regret receiving the package of expensive books because of the cost they entailed, he expressed his views on book purchasing, which indicate, perhaps more than any other single statement which he made, the emphasis he placed on reading.

It seems you are inclined to think the quantity & cost of the books sent may make me rejoice that your packets arrive only once in 3 years. This I am sure was only said in joke. Money cannot be laid out better, in my opinion than in the purchase of valuable books. You think like me in this respect or why should you lay out yearly £30 in that article? You indeed say that upon reflection you always blame yourself for so doing, because you read less than ever and because your memory is less retentive: read more and your memory will grow stronger. You must blame yourself therefore for becoming indolent, not for purchasing books. Age, I mean your age, is the fittest season for reading: the judgment is then matured, a knowledge & a greater experience of the world enables a man of 40 or 50 to read with more benefit to himself than men under that age usually reap from books. It too frequently happens that men engaged in business and advancing in life, either from multiplicity of employments or from an indolence natural to years, neglect the fittest time for the improvement of their understandings; yet ye jassions of youth, its giddiness & dissipation are equal if not greater enemies to study. The memory and imagination may be, & I believe are generally weaker in men of ye age of 40 than 20; strong memory & strong imagination even in young men are seldom to met with united.

> " Where beams of strong imagination play
> the memory's soft traces melt away."

and I am inclined to think the memory sooner fails than the imagination, particularly if suffered to grow rusty from want of use: it may be compared when not exercised, to the Senate's degree ag^{t} Cataline-*tanquam gladium vagina reconditum,* which we know will contract rust if never drawn. Thus you see I draw an argument for your reading from the very reason you assign as an excuse for not reading. . . . For the future, when you send me any books of which I may have by me ye volumes first published, pray let the others be bound: we have no book binder here; and let the books be lettered. Even tho' ye binding should be different, yet ye lettering will prevent confusion.[59]

[59] *Ibid.,* 215. CC to Graves, 14 Aug. 1772.

Opposite: Facsimiles of portions of Charles Carroll of Carrollton's first draft of the letter of August 14, 1772, to William Graves, in which Carroll gives full rein to his enthusiasm for books. From the letterbook presented to the Maryland Historical Society by Mr. J. Gilman D. Paul.

Dr Graves

14th August 1772.

I have received all the books mentioned in your letter of the 4th of last Feby; several of them I have already read, and have met with much entertainment in the perusal of them; the question is, whether I Encyclopedia came to hand in good condition

[illegible] the Encyclopedia is a work abound

It seems you are of opinion that considering the quantity & cost of the books sent may make me rejoice that you have but arrive only one in 3 years - this I am sure was only said in jest - money cannot be laid out better, in my opinion, than in the purchase of valuable books - you think like me in this respect, or why should you lay out yearly £30 in that article? you indeed say, that upon reflection you always blame yourself for so doing, because you read less than are & because your memory is less retentive: - read more & your memory

In 1773, he asked for several additional titles including Hawkesworth's " account or narrative of ye late voyages into ye South Sea undertaken by Commodore Byron, Captains Wallace and Cook," Milton's *Works,* Lord Lyttleton's *History of Henry II,* Machiavelli's *Works* in English and his *Discourses on Livy,* and Sir John Dalrymple's latest publication. He said that he had received Voltaire's *L'Evangile du Jour* in four volumes, and *Les Questions sur L'Encyclopedie* in seven volumes last year, but he wanted to know if he had published anything since.[60]

In his next letter he acknowledged the receipt of the translation of Machiavelli and regretted that it was not Farneworth's:

I wish you had bought Farneworth's translation of Machiavel: y^e^ style of y^e^ one set is so barbarous & uncouth that I cannot read a single chapter without ennuye generally followed by a comfortable slumber.[61]

In the same letter he started a discussion with his friend over whether or not imagination and memory were separate faculties of the mind and in it mentioned his high regard for Pope:

I will drop this subject to come to y^r^ criticism on Pope. He is my favourite Poet, therefore you must excuse me for endeavouring to defend him from ye imputation of having wrote nonsense where he sings

" Where beams of warm imagination play
The memory's soft figures melt away.[62]

These excerpts from the correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton show his interest in reading from his early school days until he had risen to a position of prominence in Maryland. His later distinguished career was undoubtedly influenced by the habits of reading and study which he had acquired during his school days in France and England.

Occasionally books on agriculture were found in colonial inventories but they were not common. Maryland planters, as has already been pointed out, were faced with the problem of raising a staple crop on large expanses of cheap land with the help of slave labor. Under such a system of agriculture, new ideas on soil cultivation and other reforms were slow in being introduced.

The letterbooks discussed in this chapter contain a few references to books on agriculture. Henry Callister borrowed a copy of Jethro Tull's *Horse Hoeing Husbandry* from his friend Wil-

[60] *Ibid.,* 219-20. CC to Graves, 7 Sept. 1773.
[61] *Ibid.,* 221-22. CC to Graves, 15 Aug. 1774.
[62] *Ibid.,* 222. CC to Graves, 15 Aug. 1774.

liam Carmichael in 1766, probably because he was planning to become a planter. Charles Carroll, Barrister, was familiar with Hale's *Compleat Body of Husbandry*, Henry Bracken's *Farmery Improved or a Compleat Treatise on the Art of Farmery* and Miller's *Gardening Dictionary.*

Colonial cattle were small and badly undernourished, particularly during the winter months when they were kept in the open. Livestock was allowed to run at large and therefore suffered from inter-breeding with inferior animals. This situation also existed in England, but, through the efforts of enlightened gentlemen farmers, a gradual improvement was effected at the close of the eighteenth century. Only a few volumes on this subject have been found in colonial inventories; the earliest discovered was *Animal Aeconomy,* owned by John Crockett of Baltimore County when he died in 1736.[63]

One of the leading figures in the early history of agriculture in the southern colonies was John Beale Bordley (1727-1804). He studied law under his half-brother, Stephen Bordley, and held several important colonial offices.[64] He was judge of the Provincial Court and later of the Admiralty Court and was also a member of the Council. However, his interest lay in agricultural reform and, in 1770, when he came into possession of a plantation containing sixteen hundred acres on Wye Island, he could afford to indulge his hobby.

He farmed his land on a large scale and experimented with the new theories he found in his books or learned of through his correspondents.[65] He grew wheat instead of tobacco and made many experiments with crop rotation. Like Charles Carroll, Barrister, he imported his seed from England. He kept a record of the results of the different methods he used and discussed them with his friends.

In 1785, he was a leader in forming the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture which consisted of a group of " well

[63] His inventory will be found in Baltimore County Inventories for that year.

[64] See J. T. Wheeler, " Reading Interests of the Professional Classes 1700-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXVI (1941) 297 for an anecdote about John Beale Bordley and his brother's law library.

[65] The letterbooks of John Beale Bordley were used by Mrs. Elizabeth Bordley Gibson in her *Sketches of the Bordley Family of Maryland,* Philadelphia, 1865. They are now in the possession of the Shippen family of Philadelphia. Mrs. Gibson wrote that they contained evidence of his general reading of history, philosophy, science, and arts.

informed men of liberal minds." This organization served as a forum where members could discuss their problems. Probably many of the ideas which Bordley included in his published works were formulated during the sessions of this society.

Although the agricultural titles in the footnotes of his studies are often found in an abbreviated form, which is frequently impossible to decipher, these references help to indicate the extent of his reading on this subject. In 1784, he published *A Summary View of the Courses of Crops, in the Husbandry of England and Maryland,* which contained references to *English Common Husbandry* and *English Improved Husbandry of Norfolk.* He published his *Sketches on Rotation of Crops and Other Rural Matters* in 1792. It refers to Mr. Anderson's *Agriculture, Annals of Agriculture* and *Museum Rusticum.* His most important work was *Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs,* first published in 1799 and revised in 1801. It contains over five hundred pages describing crop rotation, fruit culture, cattle breeding, fertilizer, plantations and farm buildings. English and American methods are compared, and the reader is given many practical suggestions. The footnotes to this work are filled with references to contemporary books on agriculture with which many of the more progressive Maryland planters were familiar.

SOME FRIENDS OF "YE FRIENDS IN YE MINISTRY"

By Emerson B. Roberts

George Fox came to Maryland in 1672 to visit among the Friends on both sides of the Bay. While at the head of Third Haven, he was at the home of John Edmonson, wealthy planter and merchant, and one of the earliest Quaker settlers on the eastern shore. Out of his Talbot visit came the first Meeting in Maryland, organized likely in the home of Wenlock Christison. From this came Betty's Cove Meeting with its Meeting House on Miles River, which continued until at "our joint Quarterly Meeting for both shores, held at ye home of Ralph Fishbourne ye 27th day of ye First Month 1683, the Meeting decided upon this greater house, it being unanimously agreed that Betty's Cove Meeting be removed to Ye Great Meeting House." Third Haven Meeting House—"sixty foote long, forty four foote wide . . . framed with good white oak . . . ye roof double raftered . . . and studded . . . well braced" stands today, not only the oldest Meeting House in America, but an enduring monument to those who framed it. Many families who worship there today bear the names of those at the first meeting, the 24th of the 8th month, 1684. It is of some of those first Quaker families in Talbot that we write.

I. THE DIXONS

The Dixons were identified with Talbot County before 1681, the year "Dixon's Lott" was surveyed for William Dixon. Throughout the centuries they have preserved Quaker ideals; they are connected by marriage with other Quaker families of Talbot—Bartlett, Kemp, Stevens and others, yet prominent in Maryland affairs, and with Christison, Harwood, Ball, Marsh, Taylor, Sharp and Gary—Quaker families whose names now survive only in the records, but whose blood is preserved through the descendants of daughters.

Like several of the other Quaker families the Dixons were first in Calvert, then Patuxent, and probably for some time in the area later to become Dorchester before they came to Talbot.

Robert Dixon is recorded as present by proxy at a General Assembly at St. Mary's, Monday, 5th of September, 1642, "to

consult and advise on matters involving the Safety of the Colony" (*Archives of Maryland*, I, 162). In August of the same year, he, with others, was assessed 30 pounds of tobacco by the Assembly. In a tax statement of the same year he is called "Robert Dixon of St. Mary's County."

Robert Dixon and Elizabeth Dixon "of The Cliffs," Calvert County, appear in the records of that county in June 1675 as witnesses to the will of Richard Evans "of the Cliffs." This Robert Dixon made his will May 1, 1688, though it was not probated until May 21, 1695 (Land Office, Wills, Liber 7, 51). In it he mentions three sons, none of whom is of age. John and Joseph, on becoming of age, are to inherit "Huttson's Clifts," and Robert, at the age of twenty-one is to have "one hundred acres on the eastern shore in the possession of John Edmondson," the prominent Quaker planter and merchant in lower Talbot. There can be little doubt that these acres were in upper Dorchester or in lower Talbot, near the Choptank River, the region in which are to be found the Edmondsons, as well as other families closely related by blood and religious ties to the Dixons. Likely the tract was a part of that Dorchester survey for Robert Dixon, patented to him May 4, 1664, as "John's Garden." It is adjacent to "Cold Spring," surveyed April 16, 1664, for Robert Harwood, another early Talbot Quaker with whom the Dixons had close ties. Robert Dixon's daughters, whom he also mentions in his will, were Elizabeth, Mary, Sarah and Rosamond. All of them appear to have been under sixteen in 1688. His wife was Elizabeth, but the name of her father is not known.

It seems likely, though documentary evidence cannot be produced, that the first Robert Dixon of St. Mary's and Calvert, possessing as he did land in Dorchester and in Talbot, is the brother of that William Dixon, first of the name in the Talbot records.

For William Dixon [1] the Talbot land records show two surveys: "Dixon's Lott," 100 acres, surveyed May 26, 1681, and "Cumwhitton," 200 acres, surveyed January 4, 1684. In the Calvert Papers (Talbot Rent Roll) the latter is recorded to William *Dickinson*, but there can be no doubt that this is William Dixon, for the original papers are yet in the possession of the family.

[1] See Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1939), Dixon of Cumwhitton, County Cumberland.

In 1686 in Talbot, William Dixon was a witness to a deed by John Bayley.

In Talbot land records there is another land transaction by William Dixon, planter. In 1691 he sold to John Edmondson, merchant, one half part of a tract called "Brandford," containing 1008 acres, on the west side of Delaware River and north side of Western Branch, between the Millcheck and the land of William Wilson called "Cambridge." This land had been purchased by William Dixon in 1683 from William Rigeway. William Dixon and John Edmondson sold 600 acres called "Improvement" (presumedly the other half) on Duck Creek to John Howell of England for £40. This land must be in Delaware or in Maryland near the Delaware line.

William Dixon's home was on Miles River, the tracts being "Fausley" and "Ye Ending of Controversie," the site of "The Villa" erected in the 1870's by Mr. Richard France of Baltimore. Dixon is also to be remembered as the first in Talbot to provide freedom for his slaves—long before the consciences of other Quakers prompted them to do so.

By his wife, Elizabeth, whom he married June 4, 1680, as her third husband, and of whom more subsequently will be said, William Dixon had a son, William, born 14th of the 12th month, 1682, baptised 7th of the 4th month, 1701, who died young (Third Haven records). William Dixon's will, dated May 16, 1708, is recorded in Talbot (Liber EM 1, f. 251). In it he refers to his nephew, Isaac Dixon, as "my own brother's son," but unfortunately does not name the brother, leaving us only the inference that Isaac was son or grandson of that Robert Dixon who possessed the 100 acres on the eastern shore and who left his son Robert in charge of John Edmondson. To this nephew, Isaac, William Dixon left land on the Miles and Chester Rivers which has become the nucleus of the estate that continues in the possession of the Dixons. The tracts are "Bennett's Hill," "Dixon's Outlet" and "Ashby Asteemee." In his will he mentions his sister's son, Joseph Ash, and his sister's daughter, whom he calls Elizabeth Watt of Bramton. Also he mentions his son-in-law (step-son) Peter Harwood, who is to heir "Cumwhitton." Of interest is the fact that he left 50 acres, along with some personal effects, to two old Negroes, Mingo and Mimkine. While the will

of William Dixon appears to be a sufficient document, nevertheless a bill was passed by the House, October 28, 1710, confirming the last will and testament of William Dixon (Proprietary Papers I, 1701-1733).

Isaac Dixon,[2] planter, and Elizabeth Harwood, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth Harwood, were married in 1710, their intention being declared in the Monthly Meeting, 28th of the 12th month, 1709, and again on the 30th of the 1st month, 1710, when she was called " Elizabeth Harwood, the younger " (MSS. Third Haven Meeting II, 35 and 36).

Isaac and Elizabeth increased the landed property of the Dixons. At Isaac's death, March 22, 1736, he held land in both Talbot and Queen Anne's. In Talbot, besides " Bennett's Hill " and " Dixon's Outlet," he held the Wenlock Christison and Robert Harwood tract, " Ye Ending of Controversie." His will (Talbot Co., HB 2, 206 and Annapolis, Wills, Liber 21, f. 742 and Accounts, Liber 16, f. 282 and Liber 18, f. 83) records his children:

1. Christopher Dixon, who was born 1722, died unmarried, 1741
2. Isaac Dixon, who was born June 24, 1724, died 1777, married 1747, Mary ———, by whom he had issue presently to be mentioned.
3. John Dixon, who was born 10th of the 8th month 1726, died 1790, married 1757, Elizabeth Kemp, daughter of John Kemp and his wife, Magdaline Stevens, and had three sons, Isaac, John and James, and two daughters, Sarah who married a Wilson, and Elizabeth who married twice, both times " outside the good order," first, August 16, 1791, Edmund Carville, Sr., of Annapolis, and second, William Bryan, Sr., of Talbot and Queen Anne's. The marriage of Elizabeth Dixon to Edmund Carville appears in both the Quaker records of Third Haven and in the Anne Arundel County Court. The Carvilles were Churchmen. The minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting for the sixth, seventh, eighth and tenth months. 1793 record the " going out in marriage of Elizabeth Carville, late Dixon, daughter of John Dixon," and show the granting of a certificate of removal for her

[2] Born 1696, says Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1939).

directed to Indian Spring Monthly Meeting. The record in the Anne Arundel Court reveals the date, August 16, 1791 (Hall of Records, Anne Arundel Marriages).[3]

Edmund and Elizabeth Carville had a family of sons and daughters. The eldest child, a daughter, Sarah, born September 27, 1792, married James Lowe Bryan. Edmund Carville died in the summer of 1812 at his home plantation "Crafford" (or Crayford) on Kent Island. His widow married William Bryan, Sr., of Talbot and Queen Anne's, but by him she had no children. The first wife of William Bryan was Catherine Lowe, daughter of Captain James Lowe and great-granddaughter of John Lowe, of Grafton Manor, and his wife Mary Bartlett, Quakeress.

In 1776 John Dixon was residing in the Mill Hundred of Talbot County. He died intestate in 1790. The inventory of his estate, dated December 17, 1790 (Talbot Co., Liber JGA, f. 260), names his children.

4. Elizabeth Dixon, who married, 4th day of the 10th month, 1735, Joseph Atkinson. Her witnesses were her brothers, Christopher and Isaac (Third Haven Records).

We return to Isaac Dixon, 1724-1777. He married, 1747, Mary ———. Perhaps it was the fact that he was married by a priest (Third Haven Records I, 99) that caused him to be left one shilling by his grandfather, Peter Harwood, in 1756. Isaac Dixon, true to the traditions of the family, added to his acres. With the property that had come to him, he passed to his heirs "Ashby," 800 acres, and "Cottingham," 900 acres, both of which are in Talbot and adjacent to the earlier Dixon estates. Isaac Dixon's will, 1777 (Talbot Co., JB 3, f. 23), records his children:

1. William Dixon, born March 6, 1748, died 1812, married, 1770, Anne Parish, of whom presently.

[3] In passing let it be noted that Dr. Gaius M. Brumbaugh, who has done so much to preserve Maryland records, has made an easily excusable error in transcribing this particular record. In *Maryland Records* he has the name as Edmund Carroll, rather than Edmund Carvoll. Examination of the original, however, (Hall of Records) leaves no doubt. It is not surprising that others, less skilled than Dr. Brumbaugh, in transcribing other Carvoll or Carville records, have made the same error—doubtless due to the almost indistinguishable difference in the two names in script, and to the fact that the eye expects to see "Carroll" in Maryland records in almost every county, while Carvoll is relatively rare.

2. Robert Dixon, born 1757, married Ann Berry, daughter of James Berry, and had a son, James. In his will, November 13, 1781 (Talbot Co., JB 3, f. 65) he says he is of Third Haven Monthly Meeting, and, after mention of his wife and son, leaves some inheritance to his sisters, Elizabeth and Rachel, "provided neither of them accomplish their marriage outside the good order."
3. Ann, born 1752, married ———— Atkinson.
4. Elizabeth, born 1754.
5. Mary, born 1759.
6. Rachel.

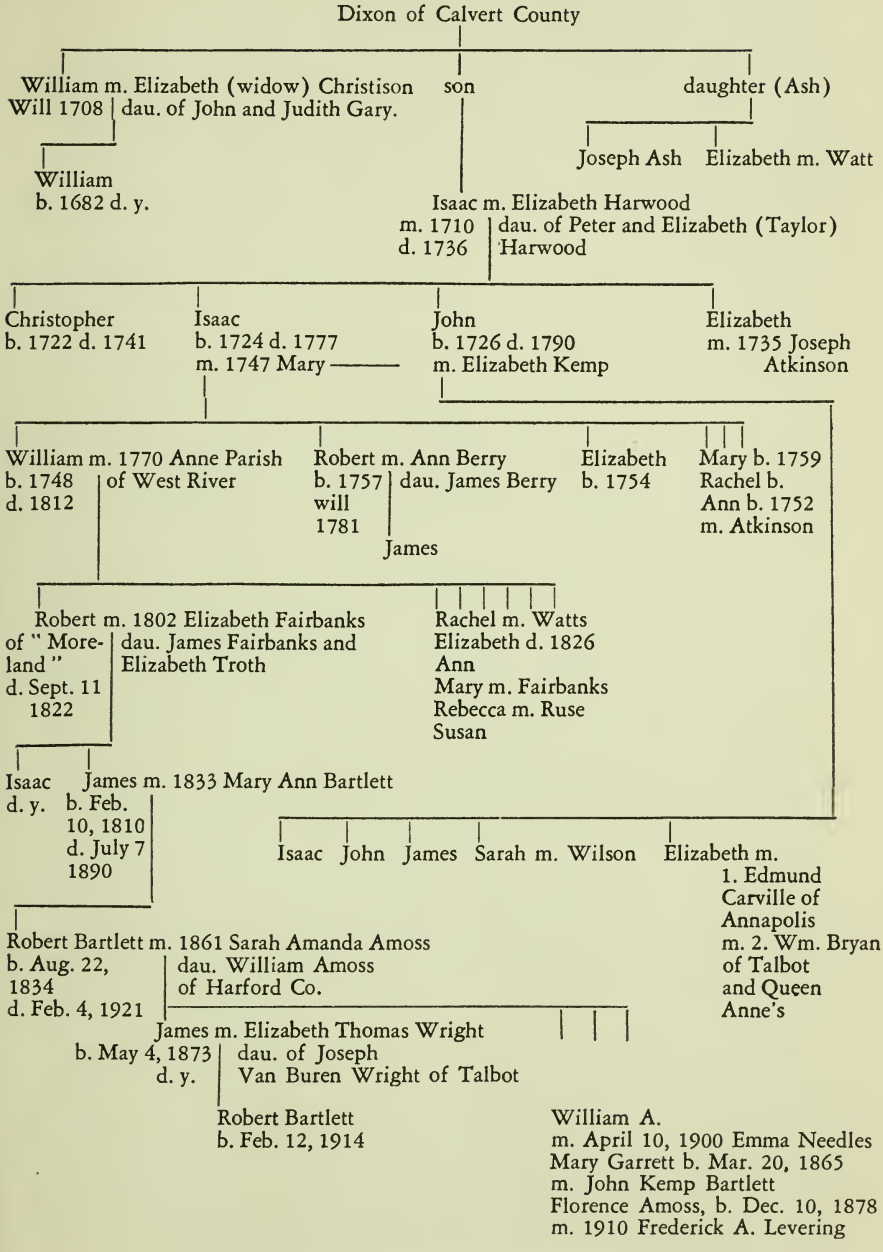
[1]William Dixon, 1748-1812, married 1770, Anne Parish of West River, Anne Arundel County. The marriage was by a priest and for it Anne was disowned on the 30th of the 8th month, 1770. (Third Haven Records, Vol. 4, p. 106, and Vol. 5, p. 222.) Of this marriage there was one son, Robert Dixon, known as "Robert Dixon of Moreland," and six daughters, Rachel Watts, Mary Fairbanks, Rebecca Ruse, Susan, Ann and Elizabeth, who died unmarried in 1826. In her will (Talbot Co., JP 8, f. 312) she refers to her nephew Isaac Dixon, her niece Sarah, and to her sister, Rebecca Ruse.

From Robert Dixon of Moreland is descended Mr. James Dixon, the present representative of the Dixon family in Talbot through the line on the accompanying chart. This Robert Dixon married at Bayside, July 2, 1802, Elizabeth Fairbanks, daughter of James Fairbanks and his wife, Elizabeth Troth.

II. GARY

John Gary came to the province as an early immigrant, but whether he resided first at Patuxent or in Dorchester is uncertain. Whether he was a brother or otherwise related to Stephen Gary, another worthy and prominent Quaker immigrant of 1662 to Dorchester is not certain, but probable. However, John Gary's wife was Judith, and she seems to have come with him into Maryland. There were two children, John Gary, Jr. and Elizabeth, who was born in 1633. The date of death of the elder John Gary does not appear, but his widow, Judith, had remarried before March 6, 1650, Dr. Peter Sharpe, eminent Quaker physician of his day (*Archives*, X, 139).

DIXON OF TALBOT



Of John Gary, Jr., there is the statement of George Fox in his *Journal*—

> We went this week [in 1672] to a General Meeting from which we went about eighteen miles further to John Gary's, where we had a very precious Meeting, praised be the Lord God forever. . . . On the second of the twelfth month [1673] we had a glorious Meeting at Pattexon: and after it went to John Gary's again, where we waited for a boat to carry us to the Monthly Meeting at the Cliffs, to which we went, and a living Meeting it was, praised be the Lord: This was on the 6th of the 12th month.

His Dorchester survey, " Cedar Point," 200 acres, was made on December 10, 1662, and that for 600 acres as " Gary's Chance," February 2, 1664.

John Gary, Jr., died in 1681 in Calvert County. In his will (Annapolis, Liber 2, f. 156) he refers to his wife Alice; his mother Judith, then the widow Sharpe; his sister, Elizabeth Sharpe, and her daughter, Sarah; his sister, Elizabeth Dixon and her Harwood children; and to Stephen Gary, the relationship not being stated.

Elizabeth Gary is important in a study of Talbot Quaker families and their descendants, for, as Argotta to the French Kings, she is to Talbot Quakers, " the mother of them all." She was born in 1633 and died in 1696 in Talbot. She married three times, first Robert Harwood, after what has been described as the strangest courtship on record (*Archives* X, 499); second, the distinguished Wenlock Christison; and third, William Dixon. By her first marriage she had three sons, John, Peter and Samuel Harwood. By her second husband, Wenlock Christison, she had one daughter, Harney. After the death of Wenlock, Elizabeth remained a widow about a year, marrying April 8, 1680, William Dixon, the first Dixon of the Talbot records. The minute in the Third Haven Record runs thus: " 1680, eighth day of the fourth month, called June, at the home of Elizabeth Christison. . . ." By this marriage there was one son, William, who died young.

The widow Dixon did not survive her third husband. Her will is dated October 30, 1696, and was proven April 16, 1697 (Annapolis, Liber 7, f. 264). In the document she states that she is the wife of William Dixon, whom she leaves as her executor and legatee. She speaks of her eldest son John Harwood, and of her son Peter Harwood. She speaks of Harney as her " eldest

daughter." It is not apparent, however, that there were younger daughters. Neither the Talbot testamentary records nor the Third Haven register reflect such. In her will she clearly identifies herself by the mention of a tract of 800 acres, "Emergency," located in The Fenwick Colony in New Jersey, purchased by her brother, John Gary. This tract she left to her son, John Harwood.

III. HARWOOD

Robert Harwood appears first in the land records of Anne Arundel County where the survey of 100 acres, "Woolman," is recorded November 26, 1651. Then in September, 1657, Robert Harwood of Patuxent was paid 0100 for going with a message up to Captain Fuller from the Court (*Archives*, I, 365). By 1662 he was on the eastern shore. On April 16, 1664, appears the Dorchester survey, "Cold Spring," 200 acres, for Robert Harwood. Perhaps he was the son of John Harwood whom we find in 1638 in St. Mary's Hundred (*Archives*, I, 29), or perhaps the son of that Peter Harwood brought into Virginia in 1641 by Ambrose Bennett of Isle of Wight County (Greer, *Virginia Immigrants*), or himself that Robert Harwood, aged 17, immigrant to Virginia, 1635 in the ship Safety (Hotten, *Original Lists*, p. 120). These possibilities present an interesting study.

George Fox, on his visit to Maryland, abode at least one night at the home of Robert Harwood. In his *Journal* is this record:

> But on the day following we traveled hard: and though we had some trouble in the Boggs in our way, we rode about Fifty Miles: and got safe that night, but very weary to a Friend's house, one Robert Harwood, at Miles River in Mary-land; This was the 18th of the 7th month [1672].

Robert Harwood died in 1675. His will (Annapolis, Book 2, f. 354) was probated May 27, 1675. In it he mentions his wife and children, but only one son, Peter, is called by name. The family was as follows:

1. John Harwood
2. Peter Harwood, born 1668, died 1756, married July 20, 1690, Elizabeth Taylor, daughter of Thomas Taylor. (For the ancestry of Elizabeth see *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII, p. 280 ff., "Captain Phillip Taylor and Some of His Descendants" by the present writer.)

3. Samuel Harwood, who married in 1710 Elizabeth Troth, daughter of William Troth of "Troth's Fortune."

Peter Harwood, 1668-1756, and his wife, Elizabeth, appear in a land record of Kent County (L. R. No. 8, f. 258) 1719-26, in which they make over to Christopher Hall a certain tract. This record states that Peter and Elizabeth Harwood acquired this tract by the will of William Dixon, late of Talbot County. The witnesses to this instrument are Isaac Dixon and Peter Sharpe, the grandson of old Doctor Peter Sharpe, through William, his son.

Peter Harwood died in 1756, his widow surviving. The *Maryland Gazette* for October 7, 1756, contains a notice of his death: "Talbot County, September 27, 1756. Yesterday died here, after a lingering indisposition of two or three years, Mr. Peter Harwood, in his ninety-fourth year. He was born and lived all his time in this county" (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII, p. 151). His will is recorded in Easton and in Annapolis (Liber BT 2, f. 78). The children were:

1. Elizabeth Harwood, who married, in 1710, Isaac Dixon, of whom we have treated.
2. Robert Harwood, born 1709, married Mary ———, and had issue, one son, James, born 1737, and four daughters, Ann, born 1731; Mary, born 1733; Elizabeth, born 1735; and Rachel, born 1739. Robert Harwood of Talbot County was named in the Assessment Bill of 1760 granting £60,000 for the security and safety of the Province, as one of the Commissioners for Talbot. The bill did not pass so Robert Harwood presumedly had no official service on this account (*Archives*, LVI, p. 288).
3. Peter Harwood, Jr., married Susannah Steward (born Susannah Kemp), September 7, 1744. The will of Susannah, 1751, is recorded (Annapolis, Wills, DD 7, f. 89).

IV. CHRISTISON

Much has been written of Wenlock Christison. There is no thought to repeat here. Most of the printed sources are readily available.[4] The briefest summary of his public life will suffice.

[4] Harrison, *Wenlock Christison and the Early Friends of Talbot*; Bishop, *New England Judged* (London, 1661, 1667 and 1700); Norris, *The Early Friends of*

In 1660 he was in prison in Boston, charged with being a Quaker. Previously he had been at Salem, later at Plymouth. Stripes on his naked body laid on with deliberation, robbed of his waistcoat, his Bible taken for fees, imprisonment, suffering, his friend William Leddra condemned and "hung upon a Tree at Boston for being such a one as is called a Quaker." At Hampton, now within the borders of New Hampshire, he was sheltered by Eliakin Wardel, a Friend, "contrary to law," and Eliakin was arrested and fined. In June, 1664, Wenlock came to Boston from Salem to meet two women apostles and Friends, Mary Thompson and Alice Gary, recently come from Virginia where they had received persecution and indignity. Again in 1665 Wenlock Christison was apprehended on the old charge. Wenlock, with the two women, was banished from the province, "stripped to the waist, and made fast to a cart, and whipped through Boston, Roxbury and Dedham." Wenlock had ten stripes in each town, and his companions six apiece. A period of respite in Rhode Island followed, but at last impelled by what motive, we know not, the three came again to Boston, under some protection of one of the King's Commissioners. Again there was collision with authority, and trial and sentence that Alice, Mary and Wenlock be whipped out of the jurisdiction. Shortly after, all embarked—Wenlock for Barbados, and the two women for the Bermudas, never to return to New England. Uncertain years follow, but in 1670 Wenlock Christison and Alice Gary are in Maryland.

Dr. Peter Sharpe, "chirurgeon," of the Cliffs, Calvert County, and Judith his wife, transferred to Wenlock Christison, August 1, 1670, "in consideration of true affection and brotherly love which we have and bear unto our well beloved brother Wenlock Christison in Talbot County, and also for other divers good causes and consideration we at this present especially moving . . ." one hundred and fifty acres of land, known by the name "Ending of Controversie" (Land Records of Talbot County, No. 1, f. 120). In 1672 the benevolent and wealthy old Doctor remembered Christison in his will, and with him, significantly, Alice Gary, as follows:

Maryland (1862); Forman, "Wenlock Christison's Plantation, 'the Ending of Controversie'" in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV, p. 223; Tilghman, *History of Talbot County*, and various histories of Maryland.

I give to ye Friends in ye Ministry, namely: Alice Gary, William Cole, and Sarah Marsh, if then in being; . . . Wenlock Christison, and his wife . . . in money or goods, at the choice of my executors, forty shillings worth apiece; also, for a perpetual standing, a horse, for the use of Friends in ye Ministry . . .

Another Friend, Henry Willocks, on the twentieth of the first month, 1670/1 made over a man-servant to him for no material consideration. In October, 1677, there is record of a purchase by Wenlock Christison from John Davis of part of the tract of land called " Ashby," and there is no consideration mentioned in the deed. So Wenlock Christison prospered.

The first Quaker meeting recorded in Talbot was at Wenlock Christison's the twenty-fourth of the first month, 1676.

Wenlock Christison was twice married. In the New England record of him, there is no mention of wife or children. In 1672 Dr. Peter Sharpe in his will refers to a wife. In Births and Burials, Third Haven Records, page 2, is recorded " Elizabeth Christison, daughter of Wenlock and Mary Christison, born 5th month, 13th day, 1673." May Wenlock have married Mary Thompson, his co-sufferer? We do not know. Nor of her death do we know, but the Third Haven Record contains this:

Att our Men's Meeting at Wenlock Christison's the fourteenth day of the 5th month, 1676, Wenlock Christison declared in the meeting that if the world or any particular person should speak Evilly of the Truth, or Reproach friends for his proceedings in taking his wife, that then he will give further satisfaction and clere the Truth and Friends by giving forth a paper to condemn his hasty and forward proceedings in that matter, and said that were the thing to do again, he would not proceed so hasty, nor without the consent of friends.

This refers to his marriage to the widow Harwood, who was born Elizabeth Gary. The censure, doubtless, was for non-conformity in not securing " The consent of friends " in advance of the event. There seems no other inference to draw; there is no other mention of the matter in the records.

Christison had three daughters—Mary and Elizabeth by his first wife, and Harney by his second wife. The eldest daughter, Mary, married John Dine, who once resided upon St. Michael's River, but later removed to Kent Island. In 1684 she sold her portion of the estate she had from her father to Isaac Dixon. Tilghman has suggested that Elizabeth married Peter Harwood, but the

references in this paper show that this is not likely. Rather it seems she married first, Murtaugh Harney of Miles River, and had by him a daughter whose name is not preserved, but who was a beneficiary under the will of Matthew Smith, brewer of Philadelphia. Secondly she married about 1699 Thomas Hopkins. With her second husband she administered on the estate of the first (Annapolis, Account XIX-1/2, f. 109).

The will of Matthew Smith, brewer of Philadelphia, late of Maryland, is dated May 29, 1705 (Philadelphia City Hall, Wills, Book B, p. 433). It is confirmatory of the relationships previously outlined. He says that he was formerly of Maryland. He leaves a bequest of a plantation on Kent Island to the daughter of Murtaugh and Elizabeth Harney, and the inference is that Murtaugh Harney is not living for he provides that Friend Thomas Hopkins shall look after the estate for her until she is of age or is given in marriage. That she was quite young may be further inferred from the fact that in the original will he left a blank for her name, which evidently at the time he did not know and intended to supply later. Then he leaves a substantial bequest of real estate in Bohemia Manor to "Friend Thomas Hopkins and his children by his wife, the daughter of Wenlock Christison." Because of its interest, the author of this article has deposited a photostatic copy of the original of the will of Matthew Smith with the Maryland Historical Society.

> William Dixon informs the meeting yt his Daughter-in-law [step-daughter] is stole away and married by a priest in ye night, contrary to his and his wife's minds; that he has opposed ye same, and refused to pay her portion, for which he is cited to appear before ye Commissary General, and now he desires to know whether ye meeting would stand by him, if he should sue ye priest yt so married her. Ye meeting assents and promises to stand by him in it, he taking ye meeting's advise from time to time in his proceedings therein. (Third Haven Records.)

Whether this refers to the marriage of Mary or Elizabeth is not clear. John Dine, we surmise, was not a Quaker; Murtaugh Harney possibly was, but the marriage may not have been in accordance with the rules of the Society; Thomas Hopkins was a Quaker, and the same remark applies; Harney was, at the time, an infant of tender years.

In 1674 we find Wenlock Christison a petitioner to the Assembly of Maryland in the matter of oaths and affirmations (Ridgely,

Annapolis, p. 60). In 1676, he was elected to the House of Burgesses from Talbot, and in this capacity he served his county and his province, presumedly until his death. Christison died early in the year 1679, for we find that the Half Yearly Men's Meeting, held at John Pitt's on the eastern shore in Talbot, eighth month, 1679, action was taken relative to securing Elizabeth Christison for what legacies were given to John Stacy, his old servant of many years, by Wenlock Christison, " he now being set free " (MSS. Records, Maryland Friends). The will (Annapolis, Wills, Liber 2, f. 89) is dated February 25, 1678, and probated May 20, 1679. In it he mentions his wife, Elizabeth, daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and an unborn child. He mentions his sons-in-law (step-sons), Samuel, Peter, and John Harwood, a daughter-in-law, Elizabeth Harwood, and his brother-in-law, William Sharpe.

In the records of Third Haven, 23rd of the 5th month, 1680, there is inventory of the personal property of Wenlock Christison. His old home, now in ruins, has been given some of the recognition it deserves in the recent article by Dr. Forman in this *Magazine*. Christison deserves a niche in any Hall of Fame.

V. SHARPE

Dr. Peter Sharpe, " Chirurgeon " of Calvert County, was an eminent Quaker. He resided in Calvert though he held patents in Dorchester and in Talbot.

" Sharpe's Island," important as the stepping stone by which the first settlers of Dorchester, principally Quakers, came there from Calvert, 1657 and thereafter, has all but vanished. It took its name from the old doctor, its first patentee. Col. Tilghman, the historian of Talbot County, studied its narrowing confines, and assures us that a century ago it comprised seven hundred acres; in 1848 it was found by survey to contain 438 acres, and a few decades later than that it was so popular as a cool, breeze-swept resort that a hotel of real proportions was built upon it, but by 1900 not a trace of the hotel remained, the island then being reduced to 90 acres. In 1910 its diminishing territory embraced only 50 acres, and today, if one crosses that way, when a westerly breeze combines with a high tide, one will see the seas washing completely over the tiny fragments that remain. And Sharpe's

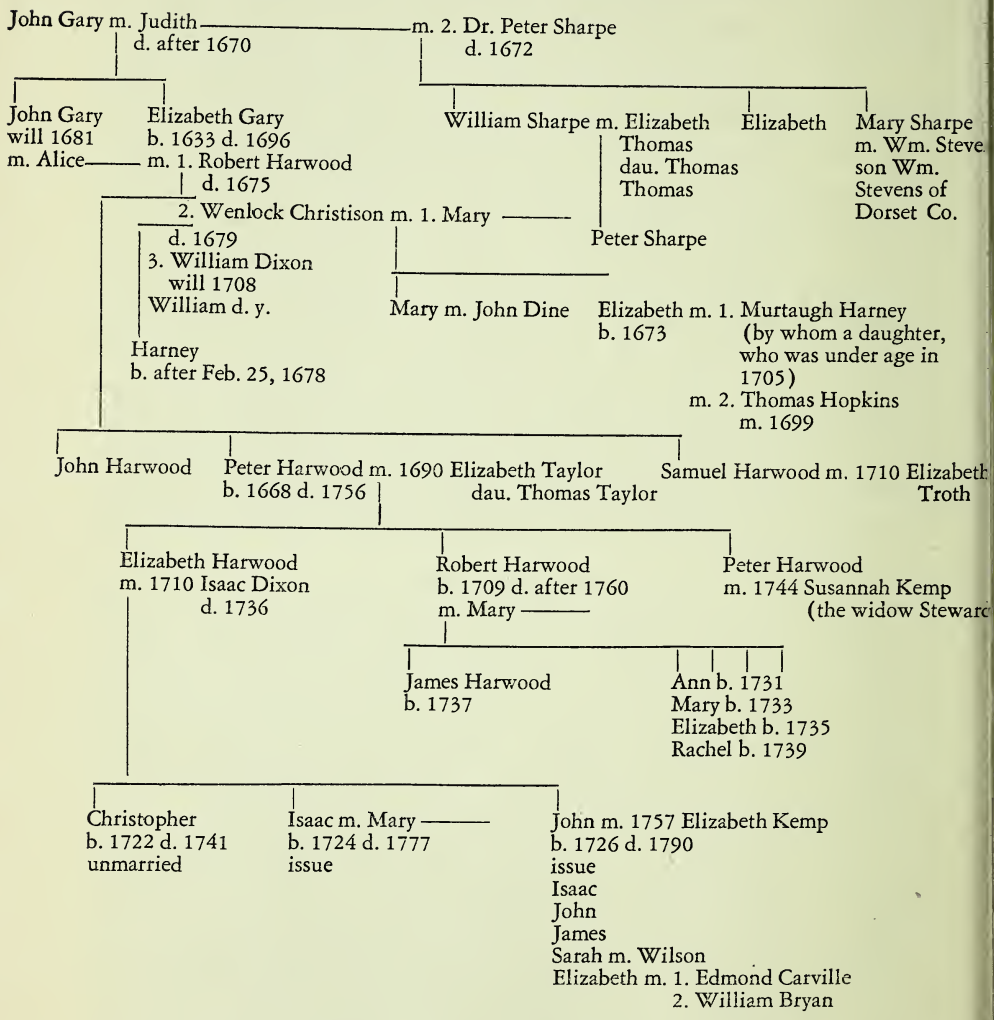
Island, when it was surveyed for the picturesque old doctor, was a handsome estate of more than a thousand acres. It is easy to see with the mind's eye its inviting shores as one looked eastward from the cliffs of Patuxent. Also the map of the Chesapeake, made by Captain John Smith, becomes more real when we think of Sharpe's Island as it was in the first decade of the 17th century.

We do not know that Dr. Sharpe ever resided on his island; indeed, it seems more likely that he resided over the cliffs of Calvert County, which are immediately opposite on the western shore and in plain view, simply numbering his acres on the island with those patented to him in Dorchester and in Talbot, as parts of his outlying possessions. In Dorchester, his patent is for "Sharpe's Point," 200 acres, surveyed December 29, 1662; in Talbot, "Chestnut Hill," 1000 acres, surveyed July 1, 1665; while in Calvert, the rent rolls of Lord Baltimore reveal only "Sharpe's Outlet," 200 acres, surveyed February 26, 1664. In the Dorchester rent rolls, the next items to the Sharpe patent are a patent to John Edmondson and one to John Gary, bearing further testimony to the early migrations of these families from Calvert, across the bay, by the way of Sharpe's Island, to Dorchester and the eastern shore.

Dr. Sharpe married Judith, the widow of John Gary, and had by her son, William, a daughter Mary and possibly, a second daughter Elizabeth. William Sharpe, who married, 1673, Elizabeth Thomas, daughter of Thomas Thomas, was the father of Peter Sharpe whom we have found in Kent County records in land transactions with the Dixons. Mary Sharpe married, before February 9, 1690, William Stevens, son of William Stevens of Dorset County (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, X, 284).

Dr. Peter Sharpe died in 1672, and his will bears testimony to several of the family relationships of early Calvert and Talbot Quaker families (Annapolis, Wills, Liber 1, f. 494). He mentions Robert and Elizabeth Harwood and their children, and Friend in the Ministry, Wenlock Christison and his wife, William Cole, Sarah Marsh, John Burnett and Daniel Gould. He also mentions Alice the wife of John Gary. Nicholas Oliver he calls "cousin."

GARY, SHARPE, HARWOOD AND CHRISTISON



BOOK REVIEWS

Inventory of the County and Town Archives of Maryland. No. 2. Anne Arundel County (*Annapolis*). Prepared by the Maryland Historical Records Survey. . . Baltimore: The Survey, 1941. Pp. 353. (Mimeographed).

Because of the present national emergency the Historical Records Survey suspended its activities on June 30, 1942, for the duration of the war. During a period of a little more than six years eight county inventories for Maryland were completed, and, in addition, a dozen inventories for federal depositories in the State, a volume devoted to church archives, and a calendar of historical manuscripts. Of the eight counties whose inventories have been published, only Anne Arundel has a venerable past, although Washington and Montgomery were set up as far back as 1776. Therefore, in view of the cessation of further activities, it is unfortunate that precedence in inventorying was not given to some of the very old counties, such as Charles and Somerset, rich in archival treasures. However, for the older counties not yet represented in the collection of published inventories useful, if briefer, inventories or guides are available.[1]

The fact that Anne Arundel, founded in 1650, is the only county with a colonial past represented in the survey to date, gives this inventory a significance even outweighing the intrinsic importance of the records described. But it must be borne in mind that from an archival point of view Anne Arundel is not entirely typical of Maryland counties, as her judicial and land records have been wisely transferred from her county depository to the Hall of Records at Annapolis, where they are housed under ideal archival conditions. As with many venerable counties, Anne Arundel suffered a serious fire in October, 1704, and, as a result, none of the county judgment books save Liber G, containing the records from 1703-05, survived, and only one liber of land records escaped destruction. Since that date the records are complete save for a gap of eleven years from 1723-1734 and a partial gap from 1774-1776.

In addition to the court and land records transferred to the Hall of Records, the early municipal records of Annapolis have also been deposited there, including the interesting proceedings of the mayor's court, of considerable importance for the light they shed upon the administrative and social history of Anne Arundel County. As distinguished from this material on deposit at the Hall of Records, the remainder of the county archives are in the main in the county courthouse. Of this depository the inventory reports that, except for the record room of the clerk of the court and the register of wills, facilities for research are " minimal."

All of the published Maryland county inventories contain valuable historical sketches, accounts of governmental organization and the record

[1] See Mr. Scisco's inventories in *The Maryland Historical Magazine*. See also R. B. Morris, " Early American Court Records: A Publication Program." *Anglo-American Legal History Series*, I, No. 4 (New York, 1941).

systems of the respective counties, and a detailed analysis of the housing, care, and accessibility of the records. Whether or not Federal funds will permit the resumption at some future date of these local inventory projects, it should be of deep concern to Marylanders to see that proper and full inventories are available for all the older counties of the state. Only in this way will substandard archival conditions for housing inactive records, such as those which only recently prevailed at the old courthouse at Elkton, be raised. A fuller knowledge of the rich storehouse of archives within the boundaries of the State should strengthen the resolve on the part of all Marylanders that the inactive records of the counties be transferred as speedily as possible to the far safer and, in fact, virtually ideal quarters provided for them at the Hall of Records.

RICHARD B. MORRIS

The College of the City of New York

The Old South; The Founding of American Civilization. By THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER. New York: Scribner, 1942. 364 pp. $3.50.

In this work Professor Wertenbaker gives us the benefit of life-long studies covering the South; and because he has set forth the story of more or less forgotten groups, any brief review emphasizing this point could easily create the impression that these groups played the more prominent role, which is hardly the impression the author would convey; in fact, the comprehensiveness of his exposition is indicated in the chapter title "Manor House and Cottage."

With respect to the "Manor House" there is an important resumé of the "Intellectual Life of the Tobacco Aristocrat"—a heading that is apparently contradictory to one of the author's theses that undue stress has sometimes been laid upon "aristocracy" in general. In any event, this chapter offers perhaps the most convincing explanation of how Southern planters came to contribute so preponderantly to the democratic leadership of the federal republic—a contribution that covered a period beginning with the united action of the colonies and extending over several decades following the promulgation of the federal constitution.

The secret of this leadership may well have rested in the planters' study of the past. They profited by absorbing the lessons of the centuries of human progress, even though much of this learning might now be regarded as "impractical." Familiarity with Greek and Latin was a requirement of the "tobacco aristocrat," and Professor Wertenbaker mentions the not unjustified irritation felt by Mrs. William Byrd because her husband sometimes preferred to converse with guests in the language of Caesar and Cicero—reminding this reviewer of an experience in Virginia when he, but recently graduated, lunched with an aging Court House clerk who quoted Latin classics at length, together with English poets and essayists of the Elizabethan and Addisonian periods. Investigation showed that the clerk had been born and bred to a "manor house" library inherited from just such ancestors as would have conversed in Latin and quoted Greek!

Professor Wertenbaker discloses that "The library of John Mercer, noted as the preceptor of George Mason, contained no less than five hundred volumes on law." It was natural, therefore, for Mason to know much about this subject, but it is hardly excusable for a distinguished writer, in a D. A. B. sketch of another Virginian, to identify (*sic*) George Mason as "a lawyer of Virginia," especially as Mason had resigned from a nationally important committee on the ground that he was not a lawyer. Doubtless it is correct to say that Mercer is *noted* for his tutorship of a gifted pupil, but judging by the blunder in the biographical sketch, the reason for his distinction is little *known*, even by the illuminati.

References to the scientific interests of the Southern planters may surprise most historians, since apparently these interests are not recorded in standard histories; for example: "Among the Virginians and Marylanders who contributed their bit to science were John Page, of Rosewell, who invented an instrument to measure the fall of rain and snow, calculated an eclipse of the sun and suggested the identity of electricity and magnetism" . . . and in Maryland "Lloyd Dulaney entertained his friends with electrical experiments."

Having offered many little known facts about the Tidewater planters, the author proceeds to describe less noted classes everywhere, together with the religious and racial groups that show the South in its varied manifestations. The story of the frontier Scotch-Irish is set forth beside the considerable contributions made by the German migration that still serves to differentiate parts of western Maryland and the Virginia Valley. In the chapter "Tuckahoe and Cohee" one finds such interest-provoking topics as "The Clash of Civilizations," "The Land of the Log Cabin," "The Moravian Town of Salem"—and incidentally it may here be noted that Williamsburg is not the only restoration project well done in Virginia, for in perhaps an equally ingenious manner, though on a much smaller scale, at Walnut Grove, the Valley home of Cyrus Hall McCormick, the blacksmith shop, where he made the reaper that subsequently revolutionized agriculture, the old grist mill, and the slave quarters have been painstakingly restored.

The Old South presents a panorama, not of the politically "solid South" of post-bellum days, but of the variations of an elder time. The volume is scholarly in matters of research and citation, besides being readable in style, with numerous illustrations. Sundry historians have, it seems, put out their most valuable work first; but in this his latest product Professor Wertenbaker has given us his best.

MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS

Robert Walsh: His Story. By SISTER M. FREDERICK LOCHEMES. New York: American Irish Historical Society, 1941. 258 pp. $2.50.

Robert Walsh was born in Baltimore, probably on Market (now Baltimore) Street on August 30th, 1784. He is so little known to present day Baltimoreans that I have never seen any mention of him in Baltimore publications. In the first half of the nineteenth century he was probably the only literary man, born in Baltimore, who was widely known in inter-

national literary circles. He was the friend, associate and correspondent of all the well known statesmen and literary figures of the time, both here and abroad. His first book, *A Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government*, was published in Baltimore in 1810, and although his early life and part of his education belong to Baltimore, most of his life was spent in Philadelphia, then the literary capital of the nation, or abroad.

Robert Walsh, Sr., was a prominent man in early Baltimore, a shipowner and importer, a large land owner, a municipal officer in various capacities, a trustee of the Cathedral, and a close friend of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Robert Goodloe Harper and Bishop Carroll. He had ten children, of whom Robert was the eldest.

Robert, Jr., was educated first at Georgetown and then at our own St. Mary's College (now Seminary) from which he graduated in 1806 *in absentia*, due to the fact that ill health compelled him to take a trip to the Sulphur Springs before the commencement. During his stay at Georgetown he had two unique experiences. At the age of twelve he delivered an address in person to George Washington. On Washington's death he again represented the student body at the "Washington Memorial Service" by delivering the eulogium before a large assembly.

The trip to the Springs started his Philadelphia connections, and a tour in 1806 through France and Holland and a two years' residence in England, with excursions into Ireland, Scotland and Wales, started his foreign associations and gave him the material for the book mentioned above.

Walsh studied law under General Harper, continued his writing and by 1818 became so famous that he was offered the chair of moral philosophy and political economy in the University of Maryland. He declined this offer, due to pressing literary work during the winter of 1817-1818, which he spent in Baltimore. Thereafter he removed to Philadelphia.

In 1819 he started his "Paper war" against England, attacking the misrepresentations of the United States in various accounts by British subjects of their travels in our country. The author calls Walsh's efforts a one-man "revolution" and it must be admitted that he made a good job of it. Walsh's book, *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States*, Philadelphia, 1819, received wide press comment both here and abroad. Letters of praise were received from Jefferson, Madison and others. Jefferson said the appeal "would furnish the first volume of every future American History" and Madison suggested that the preface be translated into various European tongues, saying "Good translations of the preface alone could not but open many eyes which have been blinded by prejudices against this country." John Adams called the book the "best supported indictment against Great Britain for the tyranny, arrogance and insolence that ever was written."

Walsh's best work was done on the American quarterlies of which he was editor. This work continued from 1820 to 1836 when ill health compelled him to visit Europe, leaving his publishing interests to his son. In Paris he founded a salon where he was visited by the leading statesmen

of Europe over a period of nearly 23 years. He was correspondent for six New York and Boston newspapers and magazines. During his lifetime he published seven books, edited seven national political and literary magazines, edited speeches and contributed extensively to other publications.

His political influence was tremendous and his views were sought by the great men of our country. A number of his criticisms appeared in English publications and his *Didactics, Social, Literary and Political*, 1836, were favorably reviewed by Edgar Allan Poe in *Southern Literary Messenger* (May, 1836). A critical evaluation of some of his journalistic ventures appears in the Baltimore *Portico* (May, 1817).

In 1844, having lost a part of his ample fortune, he sought and received the assignment of U. S. Consul at Paris which post he filled with satisfaction until 1851 when he resigned, but continued his work as foreign correspondent until his death on February 7, 1859, beloved by men of mark in the political, scientific and literary world. He contributed, more than any other man, to the agreeable and friendly feeling maintained by this country with France.

This is a well documented biography, representing untold research, and brings to life the picture of a wonderful personality closely affiliated with Baltimore. How it came to be written is interesting but that and more may be found in the book.

ALFRED J. O'FERRALL

Church-State Relationships in Education in Maryland. By REVEREND LEO JOSEPH MCCORMICK. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1942. xiii, 294 pp. $2.50.

The purpose of this study, as stated in the author's preface, is "to present the development of education in Maryland with a view to determining the relations between Church and State in education as they exist at present, and what they are likely to be in the future." But the chief value of the book to educators is as a work of reference.

Following a concise review of education in Maryland in colonial times (Ch. I), the main body of the work is devoted to historical sketches of private denominational institutions from the establishment of King William's School at Annapolis (1694) to the present time. There is a complete record of such schools, Catholic and Protestant, past and present: an invaluable directory for the educational administrator.

Of especial interest is the retelling (Ch. III) of the story of the Kerney Bill of 1852, the defeat of which settled once and for all the question of religious instruction in the public schools of the State, and of State aid to private institutions competing with the public schools.

Dr. McCormick's own position regarding religious instruction in all schools is unequivocally in favor of such instruction. The following paragraph from his preface makes this quite clear:

"With the rise of the state school, the religious aim in education has been almost completely eliminated. Textbooks and methods have been

purged of religious content and the child mind is formed in a system of knowledge which makes no mention of God or religion. While the educational leaders who contributed to the upbuilding of state school systems advocated that religious instruction be given in the home and in the Church, the experiment which they initiated has proven that, when religion is banished from the school, it will not be kept alive by the home and the Church. Religious indifferentism has spread rapidly."

While some of us may question the validity of a part, at least, of that statement; and many more of us may be convinced that, in view of the many forms of religious belief, instruction in religion in the public schools is not feasible; we can all gratefully accept Dr. McCormick's study as a valuable contribution to the history of education in Maryland.

ERNEST J. BECKER

For Flag and Freedom, 1812-1814. By FREDERIC ARNOLD KUMMER. New York: Morrow, 1942. Pp. 245. $2.

In this, the latest of his historical tales for young people, Mr. Kummer has built a lively story around the writing of "The Star Spangled Banner" and the events immediately preceding the Battle of North Point and the bombardment of Fort McHenry.

Accidentally meeting a mysterious red-headed stranger who inquires for a farrier, a designation unfamiliar to Prince George's County ears, young Jeff Talbot discusses the incident with his friend, Dr. Beanes, and is off on a spy hunt which leads him through various exciting adventures and materially alters the course of events in the attempted invasion of Baltimore. Of equal importance in the development of the story are Jeff's service to Dr. Beanes in carrying word of his old friend's plight to Francis Scott Key and his subsequent assistance in securing the physician's release from the British. Coincidentally Jeff is able to carry to Commodore Joshua Barney the warning which prompts him to destroy his flotilla, thus thwarting the enemy, and, as one of Aisquith's Sharpshooters, to witness the deaths of General Ross and the two boys who are believed to have shot him, Dan Wells and Harry McComas.

Slightly artificial in its beginning, the story rapidly improves as Jeff rides his white-footed mare, Exception, from one adventure to another, and reaches its climax as the boy watches the bombardment of Fort McHenry from Federal Hill, in Baltimore. A generous sprinkling of old Maryland names, Purnell, Talbot, Tunis, and real characters, such as Taney, Skinner, and Nicholson, together with rather accurate geographical detail, while perhaps slightly obvious, lends an air of reality to the yarn, which will, however, probably be lost upon readers unfamiliar with the Chesapeake Bay Country. Mr. Kummer's adherence to the old story that Key and Skinner made their trip down the Bay in the *Minden* is unfortunate in the light of present knowledge (according to Skinner himself, the cartel ship was "one of Ferguson's Norfolk packets"); but the history is generally accurate, and *For Flag and Freedom* is a good story, which

will make more vivid in the minds of youngsters one of the most stirring episodes in American history.

W. Bird Terwilliger

Strawberry Mansion. By Sarah Dickson Lowrie. Philadelphia: Committee of 1926 of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia Sesquicentennial Celebration), 1941. 224 pp. $3.

However beautiful a house may be it is but a shell built around definite personalities. Each addition and alteration is significant because it reflects the builder, the owner, the inhabitants. The author of this privately published book has fallen under the spell of the house, as any good historian should, and has told its story from its earliest days to its present old age.

Called " Somerton " at the start, the house was burned by the British in pursuit of the secretary of Congress, Charles Thompson. Rebuilt by Judge William Lewis, bought at his death by Judge Joseph Hemphill, whose family owned it and deserted it in subsequent years, it was at last bought in 1870 by a far sighted park commissioner, Eli Kirk Price, the creator of Philadelphia's great Fairmount Park. " Strawberry " was restored through the gift of Jacob Horn by Eli Kirk Price's granddaughter, Elizabeth Price Martin, one of Philadelphia's most civic minded citizens and founder of that fast sprouting organization, The Garden Club of America.

In making this history read like a story the author has sacrificed the clarity and conciseness that might make it valuable for reference. She has undoubtedly done much thorough research so it is to be regretted that so few notes on the sources of information are added. As a record, this book, and others like it are to be commended.

Rosamond R. Beirne

A Short History of Canada for Americans. By Alfred Leroy Burt. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press [1942]. xvi, 179 pp. $3.

An historian endeavoring to write a " short " history encounters two main obstacles not easily overcome. In condensing his material he may fail to impart substance and become superficial; or the work may equally suffer by the author's unjustified assumption of previous knowledge on the part of the reader. In neither case will the book reach the public for which it was intended, but fortunately, Mr. Burt is not ensnared.

With ease and tact he traces the growth of Canada from her pioneer beginning to the immediate present, with an especial emphasis as his title implies, upon aspects of similarity and divergence in the parallel expansion of the United States. The glamor and intrigue of the early days; i. e., the coming of the French, the triangular relationship with Great Britain and the United States, the fur trade, and the Indian problem, in no way overshadow the worth of the latter part of the book, which might have been dull in comparison.

For those who acquired a fresh insight into American history through

James Truslow Adams' *Epic of America*, the clarity and fairness of this exceedingly timely book about our neighbor to the north, is highly recommended.

MARY G. HOWARD

General Washington's Correspondence concerning The Society of the Cincinnati. Edited by EDGAR ERSKINE HUME. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. xliv, 472 pp. $4.50.

The Society of the Cincinnati derived its name from that of the famous Roman general, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, who at country's call left his plough and his farm to lead the armies of Rome to victory and then returned to private life, refusing all public honors and rewards. The Society was instituted in May, 1783, at the cantonment of the American Army on the Hudson River and, at the first regular meeting the following June, General Washington was unanimously elected its first President General, an office which he filled from 1783 until his death in December, 1799.

The document on which the Society of the Cincinnati is based is known as the *Institution*. It sets forth the objects and principles of the Cincinnati, in effect as follows: to perpetuate the remembrance of the eight years' conflict whereby the independence of the North American colonies was achieved and to foster the mutual friendships formed during that period; to preserve inviolate the liberties for which they fought and bled; to promote and cherish the union between the States; to render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers, for "this spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things and, particularly, extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence toward those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving it."

Lieutenant-Colonel Hume has shown that Washington's conduct of the duties appertaining to his leadership in the Society of the Cincinnati was far from perfunctory. This fact is plainly revealed by the extent of the correspondence which the editor has gathered from various sources and which he has arranged in chronological order, with footnotes to connect a letter and its reply. Here and there, an introductory paragraph gives the background of some of the letters. Earlier compilations of Washington's letters and other writings, as the editor says, embrace only what Washington himself wrote. But, in this book, the other half of his correspondence, so far as it concerned the Society of the Cincinnati, is revealed; thus providing material never published hitherto.

In a Supplement, embracing pages 403 to 460, the editor supplies biographical sketches of more than one hundred persons with whom General Washington corresponded concerning the Cincinnati, about fifty per cent. of them being citizens of France. As for Marylanders mentioned in this book, we note the names of Gov. William Paca, Thomas Stone the Signer, Major-Gen. William Smallwood, Brig.-Gen. Otho Holland Williams, Brig.-Gen. Mordecai Gist, Lieut.-Col. Nathaniel Ramsay, Lieut.-Col. Tench Tilghman, *et al.* An excellent index enhances the value of Colonel Hume's noteworthy compilation.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

History and Its Neighbors. By EDWIN MASLIN HULME. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1942. 197 pp. $2.

Historiography and Urbanization: Essays in American History in Honor of W. Stull Holt. Edited by ERIC F. GOLDMAN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. 220 pp. $2.50.

Colonel William Fleming on the Virginia Frontier, 1755-1788. By WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR. (Dissertation, Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1942. 210 pp.

The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland. Baltimore: Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Maryland, 1942. 32 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

MARYLANDERS AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE BEFORE 1776

An article on "Colonial Americans in Oxford and Cambridge," prepared by Mr. Willard Connely, appeared in the issues of the *American Oxonian*, published by the American Association of Rhodes Scholars, for January and April, 1942. From the records of the two universities a complete list of all entrants from English America during the colonial period has been compiled. Between 1735 and 1768 Maryland sent 5 students to Oxford and 6 to Cambridge. This compares with 34 from Virginia, 21 from South Carolina, 17 from Massachusetts and 15 from all other colonies. During the colonial period there were 98 students from America. The names of Maryland students and of their fathers, places of residence, the colleges attended and dates of matriculation, as shown by Mr. Connely, are given below. For directing attention to this study the Magazine is indebted to Judge Emory H. Niles, and for permission to publish the following list of Marylanders to Dr. Crane Brinton, editor of the *Oxonian*, and to Mr. Connely.

Oxford

Henry Addison, son of Thomas	Maryland	Queen's Coll.	Mar. 1735
John Eversfield, son of John	Maryland	Merton Coll.	Mar. 1754
Thos. Richardson, son of Anthony	Talbot Co.	University Coll.	Oct. 1759
John Hammond, son of Philip	Severnhead, Anne Arundel Co.	Oriel Coll.	Jan. 1758
James Jones Wilmer, son of Michael	Kent Co.	Christ Church Coll.	Mar. 1768

Cambridge

Daniel Dulany, son of Daniel	Annapolis	Clare Coll.	1739
Charles Carroll, son of Charles	Annapolis	Caius Coll.	Jan. 1742
Philip Thomas Lee, son of Richard	Blenheim, Charles Co.	Christ's Coll.	Jan. 1757
John Brice, son of John	Annapolis	Clare Coll.	Nov. 1757
Lloyd Dulany, son of Daniel	Annapolis	Clare Coll.	Jan. 1760
Alexander Lawson, son of Alexander	Baltimore	Clare Coll.	Jan. 1760

Six of these men were also among the Marylanders who received their education in the law at the Inns of Court, London, as listed recently by Mr. Joseph T. Wheeler in these pages. See Vol. XXXVI, page 282 (Sept. 1941).

Augustine Herrman is the subject of a short paper by Dieter Cunz of Baltimore in *Tyler's Quarterly* for July, 1942. Dr. Cunz considers the conflicting reports of the place and date of Herrman's birth and concludes that he was born in Prague in 1621. In the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for April last the same writer has an article concerning John Lederer, the explorer, who applied for naturalization in Maryland in the year 1671 and received about the same time a patent to trade with the Indians beyond the bounds of the Colony from Governor Charles Calvert.

Stansbury—Who were the parents of Daniel Stansbury, born in Baltimore county, May, 1808; died Oct. 28, 1860, in Wisconsin? He married Gertrude Roberts Millemon, Nov. 20, 1828, and became a minister of the Methodist church about 1829. Baltimore directories list him as a boot and shoe maker from 1840 until he moved to Wisconsin in 1849, where he continued his work as a Methodist minister until his death. Four of his sisters are known: Elizabeth and Rebecca, twins, born about 1786; Matilda, born 1791; and Lucretia. Elizabeth married a Stansbury, given name and date of marriage unknown, and had one son, Samuel, born 1807. Rebecca married August Jacob Buckmiller, July 31, 1821, and had Ann Rebecca, who died in infancy; Matilda, married Thomas Harrington, Oct. 3, 1816, and had several children, including Hester Ann, Evaline, and Joshua S., mentioned in their father's will, the others probably dying before his death in Oct., 1842; Lucretia, married William Arlow, Aug. 22, 1820 and had Andrew, Susannah, Julian, William and John.

Norman Bentley Gardiner,
821 Park Ave., Baltimore

Warfield: A Correction—The Warfields of Maryland, by Joshua Dorsey Warfield, published in 1898, contains the following statement on page 23:

"Azel, fifth son of Seth and Mary (Gaither) Warfield, settled south of the National Pike and opposite his brother, Elie. He married Elizabeth Welling, daughter of Major Welling of Clarksville. Their issue were: Richard, Azel, Henry, William, Charles A., Edmund, George W., Elizabeth, Mary, Eliza, Matilda, Sarah, and Ann. William married Miss Lishear: Issue—John, Henry Welling, William W., and Noah."

The inference that William of Azel and Elizabeth (Welling) Warfield married a Miss Lishear is inaccurate, as is proved by the following facts:

(1) Azel, of Seth and Mary (Gaither) Warfield, died in 1822. His estate was divided among his widow, Elizabeth (Welling) Warfield, and

their issue: "Richard, Azel, Elizabeth, William W., Mary, Matilda, Henry, Eliza, Sarah, Ann, George, and Charles." SOURCE—Anne Arundel County, Administration Docket, J. G., 1820-1872, pages 10 and 344.

(2) William W., of Azel and Elizabeth (Welling) Warfield, was married to Elizabeth Beckley in December, 1819, by Reverend Hood. He died in April 1855. His estate was divided among his children, who at the time of his death were as follows: Azel, whose wife was Elizabeth; Agnes, whose husband was John W. Mercer; William W., whose wife was Johanna (elsewhere given as Joanna); John, whose wife was Elizabeth; Elizabeth, whose husband was John Fisher (also given as Joshua Fisher); Henry, a bachelor; Noah, a minor; Marcella, whose husband was Alexander Lishear (also given as Joseph A. Lishear); Amanda, a minor; Louise, a minor, also given as Louisa.) SOURCES—(A) Card index of Marriage Licenses in Baltimore City Court House (as of December 1938); and (B) Equity Record, WHW, #3/275, Howard Co.

(3) William W., Junior, of William W. and Elizabeth (Beckley) Warfield, married Joanna E. Leisher in March, 1856. SOURCE—Marriage Licenses, Howard County, March 25, 1856.

The above documentary evidence is fully supported by family records. The statement in *The Warfields of Maryland*, should be rewritten as follows:

"Azel, fifth son of Seth and Mary (Gaither) Warfield, settled south of the National Pike and opposite his brother, Elie. He married Elizabeth Welling, daughter of Major Henry Welling of Clarksville. He died in August, 1822. Their issue were: Richard, Henry, Azel, William W., Charles A., Edmund, George W., Elizabeth, Mary, Eliza, Matilda, Sarah, and Ann. William W., of Azel and Elizabeth (Welling) Warfield, was married to Elizabeth Beckley, daughter of John Beckley, by Reverend Hood in December 1819. He died in April 1855. Their issue were: Azel, Agnes, William W. (Junior), John, Elizabeth, Henry, Noah, Marcella, Amanda, and Louise. William W. (Junior), of William W. and Elizabeth (Beckley) Warfield, in March 1856 married Joanna E. Leisher."

The writer is not a descendant of William W. (Junior) and Joanna (Leisher) Warfield, but is a great-grandson of Azel, the elder brother of William W. Warfield, Junior. This Azel, of William W. and Elizabeth (Beckley) Warfield, in January, 1845, married Eliza Shipley, daughter of Nathan Shipley, sheriff of Howard County.

CALVIN NORWOOD WARFIELD,
"Cedar Beach," Dunnsville P. O., Va.

Ogle—Thomas Ogle Clark, writing in the *Baltimore Sun* of Jan. 1, 1905, refers to Thomas Ogle of Delaware, brother of Governor Samuel Ogle. He referred to Dr. Howard Ogle, Miss Virginia Ogle and Miss Julia Ogle of Wilmington, Del.; Mrs. Maxwell Ocheltrees of Chester, Pa., and his mother, Mrs. Stephen J. Clark of Baltimore, as descendants of Thomas Ogle. Would like proof of the relationship of Governor Ogle

and Thomas of Delaware. Would like to correspond with any of the above or their descendants.

FRANCIS CHARLES HIBBARD,
Box 174, Barnesville, Ohio

Hughes—Can anyone tell me who were the parents of Samuel Hughes, born around 1689, lived in Baltimore County near Deer Creek now Harford County in 1730, whose will is found in Will Book 3, folio 185, Court House, Baltimore, Md., probated Feb. 11, 1771? He married Hannah Jane Watkins Nov. 4, 1714. Their children were Margaret, John, Jane, Sarah and Mary. It is believed that Jonathan, William and Sarah were his brothers and sister. Possibly this family emigrated from Massachusetts or came up from the lower Bay counties to settle along the Susquehanna River or Chesapeake Bay where Baltimore County was established.

Can anyone tell me when this family came to America?

JOSEPH LEE HUGHES,
20 E. Washington St.,
Fleetwood, Pa.

Richardson—Information is wanted concerning William Richardson who in 1850 executed a lease in Baltimore County to John W. Reese.

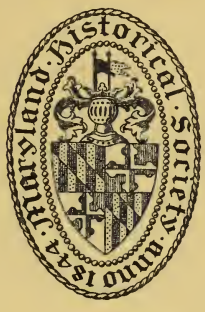
LYNWOOD THOMS,
Jackson, Louisiana.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

MR. and MRS. WILLIAM R. QUYNN, who conducted the study of the Barbara Frietschie legend with results printed herein, are identified with Duke University, the former having been assistant professor of romance languages and the latter assistant professor of history. ☆ HENRY D. HARLAN, as all Marylanders know, was formerly chief judge of the Baltimore Supreme Bench, and served as such for 26 years. He is now in his 84th year. At the time of his appointment to this position he had just reached his thirtieth birthday (minimum age under the constitution) and was consequently the youngest man ever to serve in this capacity. ☆ The paper on the War of 1812 by RALPH ROBINSON, member of the Baltimore bar, has been drawn from a biography of General William H. Winder, which he is preparing from the Winder papers owned by the Johns Hopkins University. ☆ JOSEPH T. WHEELER, whose series of articles on literary culture in colonial Maryland is now drawing to a close, has recently assumed new duties as administrative assistant at the New York Public Library. ☆ EMERSON B. ROBERTS, who from time to time sends articles on genealogical topics to the Magazine from his home near Pittsburgh, is a member of the industrial relations staff of the Westinghouse Company. He is a native of the Eastern Shore.

Volume XXXVII Number 4

The Maryland Historical Magazine



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The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, has been engaged in collecting, preserving and disseminating information relating to the history of the State. Through its services to scholars and others in making available collections of research materials, and through its publications, the Society has occupied and always should occupy an important place in the cultural life of Maryland.

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The Society depends on the people of Maryland and its friends elsewhere for its maintenance. The gift of documents and books and donations or bequests to the endowment fund, have made it possible to build up a notable historical library. The collections include not only manuscripts dealing with the social, political and military history of the State, but also letters, diaries, business accounts, maps, newspapers, pamphlets, prints and photographs. Only by a continuance of interest in the Society will it be possible to preserve and catalogue its present collections and, of equal importance, to acquire new documents recording the rich history of the people of Maryland. In short, the usefulness of the Maryland Historical Society depends not only upon the number of its members, but upon their generosity as well.

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

EAST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL AS DESIGNED BY LATROBE

Drawing by the architect, signed and dated 1810. Only the wings had already been built.

Presented to the Maryland Historical Society, 1897, by Charles H. Latrobe.

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BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE: THE MAN AND THE ARCHITECT

By TALBOT HAMLIN

Benjamin Henry Latrobe, more than any other one man, was the creator in America of the architectural profession, as well as the instigator of a new kind of architecture. He came to this country only a few years after the successful conclusion of the Revolutionary War had made it a nation; through his efforts and the efforts of the men he taught and influenced, its architecture became national and no longer colonial. He brought to the country a new vision of the dignity of classic simplicity. He showed the country the inspiration to be gathered from the perfection of ancient Greek buildings. He thus performed in this country almost the same function performed in England at about the same time by a man twelve years his senior, Sir John Soane. It is a somewhat disgraceful irony that even here in America there are more people who know the work and the genius of the English architect than those who know equally well the work and the genius of Latrobe.

There were many similarities between them. Both revolted against a worn-out tradition of older Georgian or Colonial Renaissance and Baroque; both felt that the nineteenth-century world demanded an architecture clearer, simpler, more powerful; both had to fight the entrenched supporters of the older forms; and both designed works of revolutionary import, which set the entire architectures of their respective countries on a different road. In character, too, there was much that was similar between them, for both men were emotional, at times embittered by their strug-

gles, and both had a genius for finding themselves immersed in futile controversy. Arthur Bolton in his *Portrait of Sir John Soane, R. A.* quotes a friend of Soane's as reminding him that "your constitution is too eager for stormy weather." Latrobe wrote of himself in the Envoi of his *Journal*: "I find infinite satisfaction in grumbling and complaining."

Of both, too, there is an unusually complete record in letters and drawings, so that we can, as it were, see them at work as well as study their completed works. Bolton says further of Soane:

> Soane was an idealist, hardened but never entirely disillusioned by contact with the difficulties and disappointments to which all those who pursue a high aim, regardless of circumstances, are subjected.

When Latrobe, a year after his resignation as architect of the Capitol, the inevitable end of a long and futile squabble, went to New Orleans in connection with his water supply scheme, he went as essentially a disappointed man, although confident of his ultimate high rank among American architects. Yet his fame, even then, was greater than he realized, and *Ackermann's Repository*, in London, published a long and eulogistic obituary of him shortly after his death.

Latrobe was born in Yorkshire in 1762. He was half American by birth. His father was a Moravian clergyman, but his mother—Ann Margaret Antes—Moravian also, was of a Pennsylvania family and had come to Europe originally to be educated in a German school, where the elder Latrobe met her. Young Latrobe also was sent to Germany for his later education, first to a Moravian academy in Saxony, and then to the University of Leipzig, where he remained for three years.

When he left the university, out of pure adventurousness he and two English friends joined the German army and served for part of a year. Latrobe was slightly wounded, left the service—one judges, with considerable relief—and spent the rest of the year in making the usual young Englishman's "grand tour" of the Continent. The results of his German experience he embodied in two booklets he published later in England.[1] He had been interested in architecture and buildings from an early age, and

[1] *Characteristic Anecdotes and Miscellaneous Authentic Papers, Tending to Illustrate the Character of Frederick II, Late King of Prussia* (London, 1788).
Authentic Elucidation of the History of Counts Struensee and Brandt, and of the Revolution in Denmark in the Year 1722 (London, 1789).

loved to sketch, and this trip seems to have determined his decision to seek his life work in architecture.

He returned to England in 1786, and for the next three years served some kind of an apprenticeship, first with Smeaton, the engineer (the famous designer of the Eddystone Lighthouse), where he imbibed the elements of engineering, and later with the architect Samuel Pepys Cockerell, a great-nephew of the famous diarist as well as the father of the C. R. Cockerell who later became a distinguished architect in his own right. The elder Cockerell, from whom Latrobe probably gained most of his strictly architectural training, was strangely enough not a member of the advance guard of English architects of his time. The greater part of his work, especially the East India House (which he designed), harks back to the dignified Palladianism of Sir William Chambers, rather than forward to the experiments which Soane was just beginning to make.

At the end of his three years' training, Latrobe struck out for himself, and made an early reputation in London—which gained him an appointment as surveyor to the Police Offices of London. Of his other English work there is little trace, though the *Ackermann* obituary mentions a house called Hammerwood Lodge, at East Grinstead, and implies other important domestic work. He had married the daughter of a London clergyman, Lydia Sellon. They had two children—a son, Henry, destined to become Latrobe's right-hand man in much of his work (and yet to predecease him, of yellow fever, in New Orleans in 1817), and a daughter, named after her mother, Lydia, who was to marry an American, Nicholas Roosevelt, the financier.

In 1793 Mrs. Latrobe died. Latrobe apparently felt himself at loose ends. The break in his life made future work in London distasteful to him, and we know that at that time he was an enthusiastic political radical, devoted to republicanism and liberty. What more natural than that his mind should turn to his mother's home, America? She must have told him much about it during his childhood. What tales he must have heard from her, as he sat at her feet in the little Yorkshire house!—stories of the busy Moravian farmers in that rich Pennsylvania country, descriptions of the hills and the woods and the lush valleys. Perhaps, too, she told him of Indians and the dangers of Indian invasion during

the French and Indian wars. She may have spoken of Franklin and the gradual growth of common colonial feeling in the mid-eighteenth century, and of the increasing vision of liberty that accompanied the rapidly growing wealth and security. He must have been filled with curiosity about the strange new country that had so recently been born. Adventurous, radical, with a half American background, emigration to America was the obvious step—and that step he finally took.

Arriving in America in 1796—not in Pennsylvania, where he had planned to go, but, through force of storm, at Norfolk—he made Virginia his home for the next three years. It was a strange, rather uncouth, rather half finished world that Latrobe found. The sketches which he made so plentifully show generally a most untidy landscape, with great houses rising out of half trimmed meadows, scraggly woods, and underbrush. It was a world where almost everything had to be done to make a civilized environment, and yet—though shoes were scarce and expensive, and even gentlemen went barefoot when they played billiards—it was a world full of idealism and full of determination.

Latrobe's professional abilities were instantly made use of. He worked on schemes to improve the navigation of the Potomac. He designed and built the Penitentiary at Richmond—long since destroyed—and possibly may have designed the Governor's Residence there, which seems to have many of the earmarks of his work. He made a trip to the Dismal Swamp to investigate the possibilities of drainage and navigation canals, and seems to have enjoyed every minute of a rather wandering, even almost purposeless, kind of life. And all the time he was making his beautiful and vivid watercolors of the country he was discovering.

These watercolors of Latrobe's are among the most informing portrayals we possess of that early America of the end of the eighteenth century. Technically excellent, facile and rapid, they yet have a compelling realism. One lives in them, one feels almost that he has actually traveled those rough roads, seen the stumps of newly felled trees, pressed through underbrush to the little garden of a big house, to find unusual and unexpected luxury within. Through these travels Latrobe came to know not only how the country looked, but also, as his *Journal* [2] shows, how all

[2] Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe* (New York, 1905), reproduces several of the Latrobe sketches.

sorts of people in America behaved—rich and poor, workers, farmers, slaves.

Yet at the same time he was meeting the best people of the country, and through the introduction of Bushrod Washington, whom he had met, he visited the Father of his Country at Mount Vernon. He made a superb sketch of Mount Vernon,[3] crowning the long sweep of grass that led down to the river, which shows us the house as it then stood, without the Chinese Chippendale railing that later decorated its cornice. But he did more. With his sketches [4] he takes us into the social life of Mount Vernon and shows us a tea party on the porch, with Miss Custis—evidently quite conscious of her classic profile, and dressed in the flowing classic folds which were then the latest mode—posing like a famous Pompeiian picture of Medea against the porch post.

But fate had other things in store for Latrobe than this peripatetic existence. A visit to Philadelphia in 1798 determined his future in more ways than one. During it he met the president of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and sketched out for him free-hand an idea for the bank building that was being considered. The sketch was preserved, discussed, and not long afterwards Latrobe (who had returned to Richmond) was astonished to hear that his design had been accepted and that he had been appointed architect of the bank.

He moved at once to Philadelphia, and there met, fell in love with, and was accepted by Mary Elizabeth Hazlehurst, the daughter of a shipping merchant, Isaac Hazlehurst. They were married at the Hazlehurst summer place in Mount Holly, New Jersey, on May 1, 1800—and it is said that on that very day construction work began on the bank! This marriage was to be even more important for Latrobe than his growing fame, and through the rest of his somewhat checkered career his wife was to be continuously his inspiration and, in the truest sense of the word, his helpmate.

The bank which Latrobe designed was a revolutionary creation.[5] Its broad wall surfaces, its arched windows, its templelike Ionic porticoes, using a Greek Ionic order, were about as different from

[3] Reproduced in *The Journal of Latrobe.*
[4] Reproduced in *The Journal of Latrobe.*
[5] Fiske Kimball, "The Bank of Pennsylvania, an Unknown Masterpiece of American Classicism," *Architectural Record,* Vol. XLIV, No. 2 (August, 1918).

the usual American public building of the time as anything could be. The clear breadth, the lack of baroque or rococo ornamentation, the construction of the whole in marble, the frank expression on the outside of the central banking room were all epoch-making and—interestingly enough—as unlike Cockerell's English work as they were unlike Blodgett's Bank of the United States, which had been built in Philadelphia shortly before. But it was not only the exterior which was different. Even more remarkable was the classic and monumental quality of the interior spaces—the simple magnificence of the plan, and the fact that its central circular hall (the entire width of the building) was covered over by a masonry dome, lighted by a central skylight. Here for the first time in America a large-scale masonry vault was used as the major element in a monumental interior. And from this beginning descends the whole line of those dignified brick-and-stone vaults which were the glory of the American architecture of the 1820's and '30's, reaching a climax perhaps in the Sub-Treasury Building in New York and the interiors of Girard College in Philadelphia. New, too, was the use of a Greek order. Latrobe stated that at the time it was designed he had no books of reference. The whole came out of his well-stored mind. But the order, nevertheless, was based directly on that of one of the porches of the Erechtheum, though slightly modified. And, just as this building contained the first great monumental masonry vault of the country, so it also—for the first time—displayed the grace, the elegance, the immaculate purity of Greek-inspired detail.

In the waterworks at Philadelphia, Latrobe made another extraordinary success. Put through against tremendous criticism, aroused by earlier ill-considered efforts which L'Enfant had proposed, the whole scheme faced almost continuous hostility. Yet, when it was completed and the pumps and engine at last set going, the water flowing through open hydrants raised cheers from the Philadelphia populace.

The water flowed, also, through the interesting fountains which the Pennsylvania sculptor William Rush had carved—the Nymph and the Swan—interesting examples in America of the emergence of sculpture into the field of city decoration. The fountains were crude enough, as we see them today, preserved on the banks of the Schuylkill; but they have vitality, they are sincere, and they

are characteristic of an idealism (vividly alive in those early days) which wished to make its public improvements beautiful as well as useful.

To house the pump and the engine Latrobe designed a most interesting square building with a circular, domed, central climax. Here, too, the Greek influence is apparent in the Greek Doric columns of the porch. But Latrobe was no slavish copyist—he did not hesitate to combine them with Roman arches and a central dome.[6]

As if not content with initiating the first masonry vaults and the first Greek detail in America, Latrobe also about this time (1799-1800) designed a house for Colonel Crammond—Sedgeley—in which the Gothic Revival made its first American appearance. Its Gothic, to be sure, is of a most elementary type, limited to Tudor drip moldings over the windows and pointed arches in the porch. But it was a significant building for all that. Sedgeley unfortunately was built without superintendence—and Latrobe remarks in a letter on April 1, 1805, that the result was a disgrace.

From then on Latrobe's architectural reputation was made. No doubt of that. Client after client came to him for house designs, and little by little, as the work increased, he began to draw around him a group of younger men, to whom he was both teacher and employer—Frederick Graff, the engineer; Robert Mills, the designer of the Washington monuments of Baltimore and Washington; William Strickland, the son of a brick-and-masonry contractor, whom Latrobe frequently employed and of whom he was apparently very fond; and others.

The Burd house is characteristic of many of these early Philadelphia houses. It is interesting to note how disdainful Latrobe seems in this design of anything beyond the mere force of its innate composition. How he delighted in the clear, unbroken brick walls, and emphasized the size of windows and door! The type is one not unknown in the America of that time. Some of Bulfinch's work has certain resemblances to it, and some of the great three-story houses of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, are not too far away in character. Yet nowhere was this type handled with the commanding power evident here; no other architect suc-

[6] Costen Fitz-Gibbons, "Latrobe and the Centre Square Pump House," *Architectural Record,* Vol. LXII, No. 1 (July, 1927).

ceeded as Latrobe did in giving the type not only its typical qualities, but individual qualities of great scale, humanized by great refinement. Monumental in scale, simple in scheme, almost bleak in its reticent detail, it may perhaps be compared in spirit with the entrance screen that Soane built at his estate, Tyringham, in England. How strange that these two men—working three thousand miles apart, and with apparently little (if any) direct knowledge each of the other, or any communication—should at the same time have developed such similar ideas, such a similar spirit!

Not all Latrobe's houses were as stark and monumental as the Burd house. The Markoe house is entirely different in spirit.[7] Its ingenious plan, with interesting shapes in all the rooms and a careful study of circulation and service, with its great triple windows on the main floor and its projecting octagonal bay, is characteristic of the new kind of freedom in domestic planning that was sweeping over American houses at this time—a movement to which Latrobe added so much. These Philadelphia houses of his were convenient, lavish, richly decorated. Letters to Robert Mills, who was acting as Latrobe's superintendent, show that the Markoe house, for instance, had a complete bathroom, with bath, wash basin, and water closet.[8]

And the Waln house—of which, alas, I have not been able to find any view—had a library frescoed with scenes based on Flaxman's illustrations for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[9] These were painted by George Bridport, who also decorated the ceiling of the first House of Representatives.

Latrobe's later houses, too, were distinguished for their growing quiet dignity, their clear composition, their convenient and efficient plans. Such was the Van Ness house, in Washington. How strongly the Greek Doric porch counts against the simple wall, with its slim and graceful bracketed cornice! Not a single piece of extraneous ornament, not a single unnecessary molding, clouds the clear surfaces.[10]

The more monumental Brentwood, near Washington, had the

[7] Shown in Fiske Kimball, *The Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York, 1922).

[8] Letter to Robert Mills, January 23, 1810, among the Latrobe papers in the possession of Ferdinand C. Latrobe, of Baltimore.

[9] The Latrobe papers, May, 1808.

[10] Shown in Fiske Kimball, *op. cit.*

same character of big dignity, and an even greater originality of plan. The two wings that form the little court at the back, shielding the loggia; the superb central domed room; the quiet relationship of wings and main portion—these make one all the more regret that such a beautiful house went to wrack and ruin years ago through pure carelessness. Such a central domed room as this was rare indeed in America. It is characteristic that Latrobe should have made such magnificent use of it, as in this grand and monumental, yet at the same time simple and gentlemanly, dwelling.

In these houses Latrobe, I think, went even beyond Soane's achievement in the garden front at Tyringham. There is in the English example perhaps still a little bit too much of the consciously seigneurial. Soane's Bayfordbury (1809) shows more of the kind of simplicity, the monumental quality, which Latrobe was seeking; but Soane's touch is heavier, as perhaps befitted the differing life in England. Latrobe's house for the Commandant at the Washington Navy Yard and his beautiful Washington Navy Yard Doric entrance, official as they were, still preserved a great deal of this quality of innate modesty that is so evident in much of the Latrobe work.

The same quality shows in the work he did later for the Pittsburgh Arsenal. The Commandant's House [11] has the quiet detail we have already seen in the Van Ness mansion; but it is even freer, even more independent in type, and in its large triple windows (which light the ground-floor rooms) there is expressed a new feeling for glass and light and the relation of outdoors and in—a feeling which we can only call " modern."

There is a similar modern quality in the plans of this extraordinary house. The free and interesting shapes of the rooms, the ingenious way in which they are related, the excellent functional planning of the relationship of dining-room, pantry, and kitchen—all have a quality that is new even in the Latrobe work. These elements are in the best sense of the word " functional." All the important rooms look out in one direction over the pleasantest view. Orientation is being considered in this plan, as well as convenience of arrangement.

Yet all of this domestic work was not achieved without struggle.

[11] *Ibid.*

Not only were the forms new and strange, but the entire method of carrying them on was new. The idea of the professional architect as designer could only be seen as a danger—a rather shocking violation of accustomed ways—by all the old, traditionally trained builder-architects and carpenter-designers. And, especially in Philadelphia, these men, through the Carpenters' Company, had position and power. They were continually sniping at Latrobe and his work, spreading rumors of his extravagance, assailing the soundness of his practical knowledge, stealing his designs where they were successful, questioning his method of charging for his services.

Joseph Delaplaine, of Philadelphia, had asked Latrobe to write a book on architecture. On January 1, 1812, Latrobe answered him:

> As to a work on architecture, I fear I am not the man to write one, which would be either popular, or useful to the mechanic . . .

Evidently Delaplaine persisted, for another letter of Latrobe's, on January 23,[12] complains of Delaplaine's insistence in the matter of the proposed work on architecture. Latrobe went on with a savage attack upon the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia. He writes:

> They have done me the honor to copy and to disgrace by their application almost all my designs from a molding to a plan of a whole building. . . . I have changed the taste of a whole city. My very follies and faults and whims have been mimicked, and yet there is not a single instance in which I have been consulted. . . . If I write at all, it must be for men of sense, and of some science.

Apparently the attacks, the difficulties in collecting his reasonable charges, and his continual fights with government officials about the Capitol hurt tremendously, often bringing him almost to the point of deserting the profession entirely, and on May 20, 1812, he wrote to Godefroy a bitter letter, ending:

> I shall at last make cloth, steam engines or turn tailor for money, for money is honor. . . .[13]

But in the meanwhile, through all this struggle, Latrobe's work was gaining in amount and importance. In 1803 he altered

[12] Both letters are in the Latrobe papers.
[13] The Latrobe papers.

Nassau Hall at Princeton into its final form. The following year he designed the first building of Carlisle College, and later the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. It was these three works, he wrote once,[14] of which he was most proud, because of his deep enthusiasm for education. In partnership with Godefroy, he helped design the great Exchange building in Baltimore, crowning its somewhat incoherent mass with his favorite motif—a noble Roman dome. Latrobe, however, was never at his best in partnerships. The Baltimore Exchange was not impeccable as design, and the partnership itself led only to the breaking of an old friendship.[15]

Very early, too, there came to him the great opportunity of designing a cathedral for the Roman Catholic diocese of Baltimore—a church which was to be the head church of Catholicism in the United States. His first thought seems to have been that such a church be Gothic, for—despite the comparative unsuccess of Sedgeley—Latrobe's interest in Gothic still remained strong. In 1808 he built the Gothic Bank of Philadelphia, famous for its masonry Gothic vault. Mills was his superintendent and has stated that much of his own knowledge of vault building came from his experience on this assignment. The Bank of Philadelphia had a boardroom made like an English chapter house, with a central column.[16] The whole building must have been an unusual and a beautiful structure, however faint its reflection of archaeological correctness. It proves Latrobe's real feeling for Gothic (which is, of course, essentially a masonry-vaulted style)—a feel-

[14] To Henry Clay, with regard to the proposed college at Lexington, Kentucky, May 15, 1812. In the Latrobe papers.

[15] The basis of the final break seems to have been a tactless, abrupt letter which Latrobe wrote Godefroy on May 27, 1816, suggesting that, since the basic design of the Exchange had now been determined and adopted, it would be better if one or the other of them do the rest of the work alone. Latrobe wrote John Spear Smith on June 5 that evidently Godefroy considered that letter "an affront." Both letters are in the Latrobe papers.

For Godefroy's life and work, see Carolina V. Davison, "Maximilian and Eliza Godefroy," *The Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. XXIX, No. 1, (March, 1934); "Maximilian Godefroy," *ibid.*, No. 3 (Sept., 1934), and W. D. Hoyt, Jr., "Eliza Godefroy, Destiny's Football," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (March, 1941).

The break was especially tragic because there had been the closest association between Latrobe and the Godefroys for many years, and in 1806 Latrobe had contributed several articles on art and architecture to Mrs. Godefroy's (Eliza Spear Anderson's) magazine *The Observer.* Manuscripts of these contributions are in Latrobe notebooks in the Maryland Historical Society.

[16] The Latrobe papers, December 1, 1807.

ing which may explain why he turned to Gothic in his first design for the Baltimore Cathedral.[17]

The design is in many ways extraordinary, although there is in it little archaeology, and apparently little real sense of the psychology of historical Gothic detail. Yet the design has quality. It is a kind of strange but quite convincing fairy-tale Gothic. The bold, simple surfaces of the front, the great recessed, pointed-arched portal, and the strong regularity of its mass show the hand of a designer with a strong personal feeling for form—a designer and not a copyist.

The side elevation shows this same feeling carried through the long flank; only the tower over the crossing seems rather ridiculously small, and insufficient to harmonize with the tremendous power of these great masonry surfaces. Nevertheless, personal as it all was, it was Gothic in spirit and ideal—Gothic of large, almost Italian scale, with ribbed intersecting vaults, a clerestory and vaulted side aisles—and the whole was supposed to be vaulted in masonry like the Bank of Philadelphia. A detail of the section taken through the transepts reveals the unusual quality of the design—the decorative handling of the vault ribbing, for instance, and the rather thin and liney quality of the tracery. One wonders, studying it, whether those slim piers could really have supported the weight of the vaults imposed upon them, and whether the exterior walls had buttressing sufficient to withstand the thrust those vaults would have set up. But such questions are academic, for the Bishop disapproved the Gothic scheme, and Latrobe—after one or two different schemes in a Roman vein (schemes first based on a Greek-cross plan)—finally arrived at the design which was constructed, the cathedral which today is one of the chief architectural glories of the city of Baltimore—a church unique in plan, unlike any other similar building either in America or Europe, full of interest in the relation of the barrel vault and saucer dome of the nave to the great dome of the crossing, a relation which creates all sorts of interesting and varied perspective views.

It is perhaps not a perfect church. Many people in early days

[17] Fiske Kimball, "Latrobe's Designs for the Cathedral of Baltimore," *Architectural Record,* Vol. XLII, No. 12, and Vol. XLIII, No. 1 (December, 1917—January, 1918). Latrobe's original drawings are preserved in the Diocesan offices.

BANK OF PENNSYLVANIA, BENJAMIN H. LATROBE, ARCHITECT

Drawing signed " —— Latrobe Boneval 179–[?] "

Presented to the Maryland Historical Society, 1897, by Charles H. Latrobe.

LATROBE'S FINAL DESIGN FOR THE CATHEDRAL, BALTIMORE

Drawing without signature or date.

Presented to the Maryland Historical Society, 1897, by Charles H. Latrobe.

and today have found things to criticize in its detail treatment. The arch between the nave and the central dome has been deemed too thin to prepare one for the great size of that massive feature. The famous Mrs. Trollope, a century or more ago, found the use of the segmental arches unfortunate, and the effect of the whole too low for its width.[18] Yet, whatever the detailed criticisms, the essential dignity, the essential interest, the essential grandeur of the church are obvious to anyone.

And the exterior is the exterior of a building firm, broadly conceived, classic in its dignity and power and its restraint and exquisite detail. Only the upper part of the towers seems out of character with the breadth of the rest of the work—and they were built, we know, quite differently from the original belfries Latrobe had shown. In the Cathedral at Baltimore Latrobe created an American monument—individual, independent—which, after a century and a quarter have passed, still holds its place as something for which the city (perhaps even the country as a whole) can still be proud.

Latrobe made no fortune from this great job. We know from his letters that he gave his own services, and only billed the diocese for the actual expenses involved—the salaries of draftsmen, traveling expenses, and so on. And even this little bill was paid grudgingly, so little did the Americans of the time realize the cost and the value of genius.

Robert Mills was the chief draftsman on this work, laying out all the drawings for Latrobe to finish, and making many of the working details himself. Can we not find in the superb training which this gave at least part of the reason for all Mills's future successes? And did he not learn from his employer something of that simplicity which he instilled so magnificently into the Washington Monument which stands so near the cathedral?

Mills was the assistant Latrobe trusted most and worked with longest. The brilliant Strickland, perhaps more fantastic and less solid in character as a young man, was with Latrobe and then away, was with him again, and then finally left—much to Latrobe's disgust, for Latrobe apparently was fond of him, as he was of Strickland's father (a mason-contractor with whom he worked on several projects over a long period of time).[19]

[18] Mrs. Frances Milton Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London, 1832). Reprinted in America the same year.

[19] I owe many of these details to the courtesy of Mr. Ferdinand C. Latrobe.

Yet even with Mills his relations were sometimes strained. Each felt that the other on occasion had taken unfair advantage in professional matters—and especially in connection with the monumental church at Richmond, for which Latrobe had sketched out in letter form a graphic description of what he thought the monument should be. He felt the church idea was impossible within the appropriation, and that instead a sort of cenotaph, with an allegorical piece of sculpture within, would be the best solution.[20] He wrote about Mills in a rather paternally pained manner to Mr. Brockenbrough of Richmond; he comments on Mills as a pious young man, but is astonished that the committee had changed its decision from a monument to a church, and surprised that Mills had presented church designs. He refuses absolutely to make a competing design, and, although he claims that the basis of the Mills design was an idea that Latrobe had given him, he nevertheless urged the commissioners to employ Mills. It is a characteristic Latrobe letter—petulant in word, but kind in deed.[21]

Meanwhile, of course, Latrobe had been working on the Capitol, which had come to a stopping point in 1811 because of the growing controversy with England. Latrobe's position was that of architect for the Federal buildings, and as such he was working not only on the Capitol and the White House, but also on arsenals and navy yards.[22] And among these works the Pittsburgh arsenal stands out. Parts of it still remain, showing the quiet taste and firm hand of its designing architect. But the central building finally erected did not have quite the quality of the first sketch.

Latrobe's connection with Pittsburgh was not all as happy as that with the arsenal, and here we come to one of the great puzzles of the Latrobe life and the Latrobe character. Wherever he stuck close to architecture, he was successful and admired; but to his restless and adventurous soul architecture apparently was not enough. There was always in him something of the speculator, something of the financial pioneer, seeking for large gains out of the opening up of this extraordinary new country. And, wherever he became businessman or financier, there he met with failure, disappointment, almost despair.

[20] He describes his proposed monument in full in a letter to John Wickham, Richmond, January 21, 1812. The Latrobe papers.
[21] March 22, 1812. The Latrobe papers.
[22] Jefferson had appointed him in 1803.

He had the usual professional man's talent for losing money in sure things. Only—not content, like the average minister or doctor or architect, with filling his coffers with worthless stock—he aimed to use his engineering ability to activate and direct. The number of businesses he was in was colossal. Disappointed, perhaps, at what he deemed the low pay his professional talents brought, embittered by the professional jealousy of rivals and the attacks of the entrenched Carpenters, he turned to business with avidity.[23] He built mills and bought looms, to start a great textile industry—the result was disaster. He was interested in a scheme for making and selling buttons. He embarked with Nicholas Roosevelt—disastrously again—in a scheme for buying and selling second-hand arms and ammunition; this brought him not only financial disappointment, but also association with strange and notorious characters, and he was almost enmeshed in the wide web of the Burr conspiracy.

What brought him to Pittsburgh was a great scheme, with Nicholas Roosevelt and Robert Fulton, to make a fortune out of steamboats on the Ohio and the Mississippi. Fulton had a monopoly on river steamboat traffic. With all the traffic of the central United States to draw from, how could such a scheme fail? Latrobe was to build the boats and the engines in Pittsburgh, and worked on approximate estimates furnished by Fulton. The estimates were low, Latrobe had *not* allowed for all sorts of unforeseen contingencies, the capital was not forthcoming, and finally (in 1815) the whole thing crashed, taking with it practically all the money that Latrobe had made and saved.[24] He was in despair, depressed to the point almost of complete apathy. Today we would say he had a nervous breakdown.

And here the magnificent co-operation of his wife and some of his friends came to the rescue. She took the initiative of writing to the President to suggest that Latrobe be asked back to Washington to have charge of the rebuilding of the Capitol, then in ruins from the fire kindled by the invading English. The invitation was forthcoming immediately. It aroused again the artist's enthusiasm to create. It swept away the disappointment of the Mississippi scheme, and little by little the fogs of depression

[23] As for instance, in the bitter letter to Godefroy, ending, "I shall at last make cloth, steam engines, or turn tailor for money, for money is honor. . . ."

[24] He finally was forced to go through legal bankruptcy in 1818, after his resignation from the U. S. Capitol work.

vanished. Latrobe returned to Washington, and in two busy and creative years brought the north and south wings of the Capitol to almost their present form.[25]

In returning to Washington, Latrobe was returning to what was his climax work—one might almost say, his most important reason for being. This began with his appointment by President Thomas Jefferson, on March 6, 1803, as Surveyor of the Public Buildings of the United States at Washington. This was a brilliant step of Jefferson's, for the whole problem of the building of the Capitol had reached a nearly insoluble confusion.

Thornton, the brilliant and stubborn amateur, who had won the competition with a design of superb daring, was little fitted by technical knowledge to carry it out, and the assistants Congress had given him at various times—Etienne Hallet (Stephen Hallet, as he was known), George Hadfield, and Hoban (the architect of the White House)—each tried to impose upon the whole some new idea, some new way of solving the difficulties of the Thornton scheme. Thornton's non-co-operative stubbornness only added to the confusion, and the elimination of all of these contending personalities was necessary to have any building done at all.

From 1803 Latrobe held this position, until work stopped in 1811. For the first four years he was not resident in Washington, but lived at Wilmington—where he was working on the ill-fated original plan for a Chesapeake and Delaware canal—or in Philadelphia. He was occupied with numberless schemes, financial and architectural, and yet he found time to revise the Thornton plan into something possible of achievement (by cutting out the second circular room to the west) and to bring to completion, first the Senate wing—in substantial accordance with the Thornton scheme —and, later, the House of Representatives wing, where he substituted a slightly different plan for Thornton's original oval.

He worked on the White House, acting as interior decorator for it as well as architect. He handled every detail by voluminous correspondence, even to the choice of curtains and the furnishing of lamps for both White House and Capitol; this correspondence is a marvellous source for the details of the construction.[26] In 1802 he had bought one of the polygraphs invented by Charles

[25] For the Capitol, see Glenn Brown's monumental and richly illustrated work, *History of the United States Capitol*, 2 volumes (Washington, 1900-1903).

[26] In the Latrobe papers.

Willson Peale—that amazing painter, scientist, and inventor—and from that time on, with the aid of this modified pantagraph, he made copies of every letter he wrote. These copies, carefully preserved from generation to generation, are an unparalleled original source for the American history of the time.

His letters were frequently more frank than tactful. Often they contain material which, becoming noised abroad by gossip, injured his position even with those who were his friends. It was so with Jefferson, for instance. We find him writing on May 2, 1805, of the proposed colonnade in front of the office wing of the White House (which Thomas Jefferson had suggested):

> The style of the colonnade he proposes is exactly consistent with Hoban's pile—a litter of pigs worthy of the great sow it surrounds, and of the Irish boar, the father. . . .

And this letter was written at almost the same time he was writing most affectionate letters to Jefferson himself.

Of Jefferson's ideas he wrote in 1812 to Eric Bollman that the Administration was seeking a war to recover its executive power. He deprecated the power of the legislature as a result of the trend toward pure republicanism that was current, and the "wretched policy of the Jeffersonian school." Yet at the same time he gave to the Washington work the best that was in him, with a superb devotion—recompensed with but a modest salary. For eight years he worked on, despite obstructionist commissioners, cantankerously critical congressmen, and the backbiting attacks of Thornton, which led eventually to a long, distressing libel suit that brought little credit either to Latrobe, who instituted it, or to Thornton, the defendant.

It was in the House wing that Latrobe had the freest opportunity to display his ability, and the approximately oval House room, skylighted—with its rich Corinthian columns, its luxurious curtains, its frescoed ceiling (painted by George Bridport), and its decorative sculpture—was magnificent.

Still, despite the acknowledged beauty of this superb hall, criticism of its architect mounted. The skylights, placed according to Jefferson's suggestions, leaked. Congress claimed the whole cost too much. There were endless delays in getting appropriations to pay legitimate construction bills. And Latrobe's own emphatic nature—his petulance and occasional tempers—did little to quiet matters.

Nevertheless, the two wings of the Capitol were completed with general satisfaction, and the prospects seemed good for the continuation of the work and for the building of the central rotunda according to Latrobe's magnificent designs for a great Corinthian portico and a low Roman dome.

An early study of the east elevation already shows something of the building Latrobe had in mind. The exterior design of the wings is purely Thornton's, and still retains something of the old English-Palladian-Sir-William-Chambers character. But the classic power of the central part is Latrobe's, and this was further emphasized when he substituted a monumental flight of steps for the arcaded basement shown in the study. Latrobe's later scheme is shown better in the western elevation, toward the Mall, where the developed Roman dome, the continuous colonnade, and the superb Greek Doric propylaea below all have the new power, the new restraint, the new freedom, and the new classicism which were Latrobe's chief gift to America.

In the interior, in those places where Latrobe had a free hand, the same character is evident. In the Senate vestibule, for example, he developed and used a new American order based on the great American plant, the maize or Indian corn—one of the most brilliant (if not the most brilliant) of the national modifications of classic forms ever produced. It won instant acclaim, and Latrobe sent a sample capital to Jefferson with evident pride. Later, after the fire, in the Senate rotunda he used another, somewhat similar order based on the other great source of American wealth at the time—the American tobacco plant. For Latrobe was in no sense a mere copyist.

To the bright hopes for the completion of the Capitol, the troubles preceding the War of 1812 brought a sudden end, in 1811, and Latrobe's work came to a sudden close. The final stroke of misfortune came when the English, occupying Washington in 1814, burned out the Capitol and the White House, in a gesture of futile anger. Munger's drawing (etched by Latrobe's pupil, Strickland) shows the state of the Capitol after the war, the exterior walls (still standing as a mere shell) blackened with the smoke of the savage fire.[27] Within, little of the original structure was left, except some of the vaulted portion of the Senate wing

[27] Shown in Glenn Brown, *op. cit.*

and the calcined and fragmented columns of the old House of Representatives.

The fire was far from being an unmixed evil, for it allowed Latrobe (recalled in 1815, as we have seen, for its reconstruction) complete freedom in the design of a new House of Representatives and a large measure of freedom in the Senate wing, though there the main lines were necessarily preserved. Two frenzied years of design and rebuilding followed. Masonry vaults were used, wherever they were practicable, to reduce the fire risk. Particularly characteristic of Latrobe's freedom and brilliance in form design is the vaulted room beneath the old Senate chamber—a room designed for the Supreme Court and used later as the Supreme Court Library. Its powerful, simple Doric order, its ribbed domical vault with intersections, its bold structural pattern, and the elegant, delicate decoration of its massive masonry forms are all characteristic of Latrobe's mature design, his creative use of precedent, his integration of structure and appearance.

With this may well be compared some of the interiors that Sir John Soane designed for the Bank of England—such as that of the Consoles Office (in the Soane Museum in London) made during the construction. Here, too, there is the same effort to use a historical tradition creatively and to allow structure to become the main source of beauty. The differences between the two rooms are characteristic of the differences between the two architects. But even more significant than the difference is the similarity of the idealism. These are both examples of the good "modern" architecture of a century and more ago.

The chief glories of this Latrobe reconstruction were the old Senate chamber (later the Supreme Court room), with its pure and elegant detail, its Greek Ionic colonnade, and its beautifully coffered vaulting. The alternating and pleasant rhythms of the colonnade, the rich mottled marble of the column shafts (it is really but a polished puddingstone, which Latrobe discovered to be common along the Potomac), and the continuity and grace of the basic form make this one of the distinguished public rooms of the nineteenth century. Its present state is deceptive, because the long bench, formerly used by the Supreme Court, cuts off part of the height of the colonnade. Originally, of course, there was only the Vice-President's chair (or throne) in the central position under the arch, and the senators' desks were arranged in curves following the curve of the wall.

An even more effective achievement was the much larger room of the House of Representatives, now misused as Statuary Hall. A famous picture by S. F. B. Morse shows the House in session, with the rich dais for the Speaker and the luxurious red curtains that hung between the columns above the gallery. Here was the famous clock—one of the earliest pieces of distinguished architectural sculpture in the country. Here were the same rich materials as those in the Senate, but used more lavishly, on a far ampler scale. Even the fact that the room was never perfect acoustically cannot blind even the most superficial observer to the magnificent architectural quality of this superb interior. Today the hall, empty of desks, has become a sort of lumber room for the storage of all the misbegotten sculpture that logrolling congressmen have forced upon a patient nation—sculpture, a little of it good, some of it fair, most of it execrable. Yet somehow the large, ample, and serene space dominates its contents. One would wish that all the statues could be removed. Let them be placed, formally disposed, up and down some prospect in Washington's wide spaces—so, they might count merely as decorative elements and by their rhythm enhance and even harmonize a vista; now, seen as units, they are (most of them) but superfluous rubbish encumbering the beauty of a great interior.

Fortunately, these two great rooms were completed before mounting disagreements between Latrobe and the Commissioners and ever increasing tensions between the designer and the government forced, at last, Latrobe's resignation in November, 1817. He took the opportunity of going to New Orleans (where his son Henry had just died of yellow fever) to carry on the work of the New Orleans waterworks. He has left us vivid pictures of New Orleans at that time, both in his *Journal* and in his watercolors, like his graphic picture of the little group of pilots' houses in Balize. But the place seems to have been—at least for the Latrobe family—under a curse, for it was there, three years later, that Latrobe died, of the same disease that had carried off his son.

It is better, I think, to recall Latrobe by his greatest work, his chief monument, the United States Capitol; to realize that, although today the great end wings and the dome are Walter's, the west elevation is by Bulfinch, and the walls of the central part follow a design of Thornton's, nevertheless it was Latrobe who

(more than anyone else) in his development of the plan—and in the style of the superb interiors he left—determined its character.

Latrobe, we have said, was like Soane, yet differing conditions led in their two cases to different conclusions. Soane went on to final victory and appreciation; he achieved ample wealth; he received the knighthood in 1831; he was awarded a Royal Academy gold medal in 1835. But Latrobe was doomed financially and professionally to apparent failure—he lost his money in ill-advised speculations; he was expelled in his position as architect for the Capitol; and many commissions that should have been his went to others less skilled—he died, too young, in 1820.

Yet who shall say which contribution was greatest, Soane's or Latrobe's? Both brought into their architecture prophetic hints of a new day. Both were pioneers in the emergence of a completely new architectural taste. Soane left his monument in the Bank of England—now, alas, reconstructed out of all resemblance to the greatness he gave it. But Latrobe not only left his monument in the United States Capitol and other buildings that gave evidence of a taste as sure and an imagination as brilliant as Soane's, but also, almost single-handed, created the architectural profession in America. To him, more than to any other, is due its birth, brought about through his stormy dealings with the government, through his rigidly professional relations with his clients, and through the efforts of his pupils—men he had trained in the ethics as well as the skills of their profession.

But Latrobe was more than an architect and an engineeer. He was a linguist, a scholar, a writer. He knew, of course, as most educated English gentlemen were supposed to, Greek and Latin; he knew also French and Hebrew. He wrote a pungent, vivid, powerful English, and he seems to have been well acquainted with music. Soon after his arrival in this country he was the author of a farce called *The Apology*, which was produced with éclat in Richmond; as his *Journal* shows, it was commented on as far away as Philadelphia. Would that we had the manuscript today! He wrote a pamphlet on American copper mines. But his longest and most important piece of sustained writing was the article "Acoustics" which he wrote for the American edition of the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, published in Philadelphia by Joseph and Edward Parker. This article was in proof by the end of 1811, but it was not finally issued until long after Latrobe's death; the

Encyclopaedia finally appeared only in 1832. The article (which is signed) is a thorough, scholarly analysis of the whole science of the physics of sound as it was then understood, with a second portion dealing with the application of this science to the design of buildings. It is well written and excellently organized, clear as crystal. He had written another article on "Civil Architecture" for the same work, but the manuscript was lost and, when the Encyclopaedia appeared, it merely carried a reprint of the old Edinburgh essay.

Latrobe's *Journal* ends with an Envoi in which he sought, not unsuccessfully, to examine his position in American culture. I can do no better than to reproduce his own words:

> I would positively hesitate, and on reflection I am convinced that my vanity renders it impossible for me to write down the actual facts of my history, so little do they possess of merit, much less of brilliancy, yet—I am absolutely ashamed that it is so—I shall never while the arts exist in America hold a mean place among the men to whom merit is conceded. . . . The highest encomium and the most flattering I ever received relative to my architectural efforts, was in regard to the bank of Pennsylvania.
>
> Walking up Second Street, I observed two French officers standing opposite the building and looking at it without saying a word. I stepped into Black's shop and stood close to them. After some time one of them exclaimed several times, "C'est beau, et si simple!" He said no more and stood for a few minutes longer before he walked away with his companion. I do not recollect distinctly anything that has happened that has given me so much particular satisfaction.

Soane today is memorialized in the Soane Museum in London, where are preserved his drawings and the drawings he had collected, and a wealth of documentary material. How grand it would be if Latrobe could find in America a similar monument—a place where the enormous and valuable riches of his architectural and landscape drawings, his copious notes, and his thousands of letters could be deposited, to be an inspiration to us, as the Soane material is an inspiration to the English! [28]

[28] In the preparation of this paper I have had the rare privilege of making use of a full digest of the Latrobe papers, which has been brilliantly made by Mr. Ferdinand C. Latrobe, as well as of seeing the colored slides which he has made of B. H. Latrobe's sketches. I wish to set down here my deep gratitude to him not only for these aids, but also for his continuous cordial assistance and co-operation, without which this paper would have been impossible. I wish also to express my gratitude to the staff of the Maryland Historical Society Library, who, in my all too brief visits, helped me most willingly and efficiently in finding the material I needed; also to the Library and Art Department of Johns Hopkins University for permission to publish this paper, given (with some modifications) as a lecture there on January 15, 1942.

THE WORK OF THE FEDERAL COURT OF MARYLAND [1]

By W. Calvin Chesnut

A judge who is over-persuaded by a lawyer's eloquence is, in legal parlance, apt to commit reversible error. Particularly the judge must be on guard against the advocate's appeal to the judge's vanity however subtly expressed. I fear my rôle as your speaker tonight is due to my judicial guard being down when your chairman of the Speakers' Committee, now a leading banker but in his early unregenerate youth a brilliant trial lawyer, persuaded me to accept this assignment. I confess that I was flattered by the invitation, and particularly so because he gave me the opportunity to choose my own subject. However, the opportunity was more nominal than real, because I at once realized that there was only one subject on which I would be qualified to talk to this assembly. In effect, therefore, Mr. Griswold both chose the speaker and the subject, which is, of course, The Work of the Federal Court.

It seems appropriate that a paper for this Society should have some historical aspect. I therefore begin with a very brief history of the Federal Court in Maryland.

Authority for all our federal courts must be found in our federal Constitution, although only one—the Supreme Court of the United States—is therein specifically named. All other federal courts are directly created by act of Congress. During the 151 years of our constitutional government there have been from time to time a number of somewhat differently constituted courts, but only two of them have been continuous from the first—the Supreme Court and the District Court. The latter was established by act of the first Congress in what is known as the Original Judiciary Act of 1789. Its jurisdiction was at first largely limited to the trial of admiralty and prize cases, and the lesser criminal offenses; but from time to time the scope of its jurisdiction has been increased so that now it is for nearly all classes of cases the court of first instance, that is, the trial court. From it appeals are permitted to the Circuit Court of Appeals which, for this Fourth Circuit, generally sits at Richmond, Virginia; and the unusual case may be

[1] Address before the Society, April 13, 1942.

further appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington.

We may pause here to inquire why we have two sets of courts in every state—the courts of the states respectively and also a court of the United States. The answer lies in the dual nature of our government, federal and state. In their respective spheres of power both governments, federal and state, exercise sovereign powers. The right to establish its own courts is an ordinary attribute of sovereignty. And unless the states had partly yielded their rights in this respect to the federal government, we could have no federal courts in the states. It was, however, as the French political writer DeTocqueville has pointed out in his classic commentaries on *Democracy in America*, the novel feature of our Constitution that it provided for a separate federal judicary. And in so providing it wisely adopted the lesson from English history, established there in the Act of Settlement in the reign of Queen Anne in 1701, that to secure truly independent judges they must be appointed to hold office during good behavior or, as the Latin expression has it, *duum sese bene gesserint.* This lesson had been learned in England at great cost. It had been sharply taught in the time of James I in a case involving the so-called dispensing power of the King in an ecclesiastical matter. At that time English judges were appointed not for life or good behavior, but held office only during the pleasure of the king. There was a difference of political and legal opinion whether James as the reigning monarch possessed the dispensing power. Somewhat cautiously he decided to informally obtain the opinion of his judges, of whom there were twelve. All but one indicated an adverse view. Thereupon he promptly removed these eleven and appointed eleven new judges. Upon the decision of the case the eleven new judges decided in favor of the king's power and the one "holdover" judge, against him. The story is graphically told by Macaulay who adds the somewhat surprising comment that the single dissenting judge had previously enjoyed a very poor reputation.

There is a district court of the United States in each of the nearly one hundred judicial districts; but we are concerned this evening particularly with the district court of Maryland. In the original Judiciary Act creating our court it was first provided that the court should sit here at Baltimore and also at Easton, on the

Eastern Shore; but in 1802 the place of holding court was limited to Baltimore, where it has continuously thereafter sat, with the exception that in recent years infrequent sessions are held at Cumberland, in Western Maryland, and at Denton on the Eastern Shore.

Some years ago I was interested to make some historical research to learn in what courthouses or buildings the district court had sat in Baltimore since the earliest days.[2] I regret that a somewhat intensive and extensive research from available historical sources has not uncovered the building where the court sat prior to 1822; with the exception that on one occasion the three circuit judges of the Circuit Court, known as the Mid-night Judges appointed in the last days of the administration of John Adams, and abolished in the first year of Jefferson's administration, sat at Evans Inn in Baltimore in 1801. I assume, however, that this was only a temporary place. One of these three judges was Philip Barton Key of Maryland, an uncle of Francis Scott Key.

The history of the federal courthouses is complete from 1822. In that year the district and circuit courts of the United States occupied the first floor of what was then the newly completed Masonic Hall on the east side of St. Paul Street between Fayette and Lexington Streets, on a portion of the ground now covered by our State Court House in Baltimore City. There the federal courts sat until 1865; and there it was that Chief Justice Taney in 1861 heard the famous habeas corpus case of *Ex parte Merryman*, and issued a commitment against Gen. Cadwalader for the latter's refusal to produce Merryman, then a military prisoner at Ft. McHenry. Taney was then 80 years of age and in feeble health. I have examined the original papers in the case, and it is interesting to note the character of his handwriting on a mere informal scrap of yellow paper on which he wrote out the commitment for contempt. There is intrinsic evidence that it was done immediately upon the refusal of Cadwalader's representative to obey the court's writ. The evidence is the informality of the paper and the somewhat quavering handwriting. It will be remembered that the occasion for the case was the imprisonment of Merryman for alleged complicity in the destruction of railroad bridges on the

[2] "History of the Federal Courts in Maryland" in Maryland State Bar Association *Reports*, Vol. 41 (1938), p. 63.

Northern Central Railroad to impede the progress of Federal troops through Maryland. Cadwalader's refusal to obey the court's writ was placed by him on the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by President Lincoln, whose power to do so was denied in an extended formal opinion by Taney, who judicially declared that the writ could be suspended only by an act of Congress.

From 1865 to 1889 the district and circuit courts of the United States were housed in a courthouse exclusively devoted to their purposes which was built during the Civil War at the northwest corner of what is now Fayette Street and Guilford Avenue. On May 16, 1859, President James Buchanan with his cabinet visited Baltimore to select a site for the new court house and chose that offered for $50,000 by the First Presbyterian Church at the northwest corner of Fayette and what was then called North Street. It was constructed of granite from Maryland and Maine quarries, and the architectural style was Italian with Grecian porticos. Many of us will doubtless remember this building which, from 1896 to 1900 was occupied by some of the state courts during the construction of the present State Court House.

In 1889 the federal courts moved into the new Post Office and Court House Building, which was the predecessor of the present structure on the same location. Its corner stone had been laid with impressive official exercises by President Arthur in 1884. The courts occupied the whole of the third floor of the building until 1930, when it was demolished to make way for the present structure. During the two-years interval of construction of the latter, the federal court occupied the Gutman Building at 210 North Eutaw Street; but in May, 1932, it moved to its present location, occupying the whole of the fifth floor of the building where there are three fine court rooms, with the necessary adjunctive chambers for the judges and offices for the clerk, the United States Attorney, the Marshal of the court, and the United States Commissioner and the Referee in Bankruptcy.

The records of the court constitute its written history. We are fortunate in having the complete set of records of the federal courts in Maryland from their very first session. In addition to the records of cases instituted, tried and decided, the clerk of the court keeps what is known as a minute book which is in the nature of a brief diary of the activities of the court at each session. These

records are all now in the custody of the clerk of the court who has shown some reluctance to part with them although it has been suggested that the early records should be sent to the National Archives in Washington for safer keeping.

The first session of the district court, called in the record an Admiralty court, was held in Baltimore Town on the 17th day of April, 1790. William Paca, the first judge of the court, who had been appointed by President Washington, presided. Nathaniel Ramsay was the marshal and Joshua Barney was the clerk; and it also appears that one William Bigger was appointed crier. Eleven separate suits were docketed against the brigantine *Juliana*, which was condemned, sold and the proceeds held for distribution among those entitled thereto. The next session of the court was held at Easton on the fourth Tuesday in September, 1790, with the same court officials present. The record shows that of the jurors summoned, quite a number asked to be excused for one reason or another, which indicates that the present attitude toward jury service is not new.

The court records also include a roster of attorneys admitted from time to time, with the dates of admission and their personal signatures to the roll. It may be of interest to note the names and dates of admission of some of the more prominent lawyers of the State, the names of a number of whom appear in the circular frieze of the Supreme Bench room in the State Court House, an interesting account of whom was so recently given to this Society by Judge Harlan.[3] Among those admitted as attorneys of the court, with the dates of their admission, are the following:

William Pinkney, 1795; Reverdy Johnson, 1818; Roger Brooke Taney, 1823; James Alfred Pearce (father of Judge Pearce, later of the Court of Appeals of Maryland), 1825; John H. B. Latrobe, 1826; J. Mason Campbell (son-in-law of Chief Justice Taney), 1832; William Fell Giles (later U. S. District Judge), 1834; I. Nevitt Steele, 1836; S. Teackle Wallis, 1840; Robert M. McLane, 1844; William Pinkney Whyte, 1848; Henry Winter Davis, 1851; Charles E. Phelps, 1857; John P. Poe, 1857; Roger Brooke Taney Campbell (grandson of Chief Justice Taney), 1864.

William Paca was the first judge of the district court and sat there from 1790 to 1799. Practically all of President Washing-

[3] Printed in this Magazine for September, 1942.

ton's appointments were of outstanding men, accomplished as lawyers and distinguished for their previous patriotic service in Revolutionary statesmanship. Paca was an illustrious example of this high character of judicial appointment. He had been admitted as a student to the Inner Temple of London in 1762, and to the Bar of Maryland in 1764. He had served as a member of the Provincial Legislature and was a conspicuous leader in the Revolutionary party. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1779; he had been a state senator, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of the State and Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals under the Articles of Confederation; from 1782 to 1786 he was Governor of the State; and in 1788 was a member of the State Convention which ratified the Constitution. A more extended and very interesting account of his career is to be found in a recent number of the quarterly of this Society in an article by Mr. Albert Silverman, the reading of which I most sincerely recommend.[4]

Succeeding judges of the court were James Winchester, 1799-1806; James Houston, 1806-1819; Theodorick Bland, 1819-1824; Elias Glenn, 1824-1836; Upton S. Heath, 1836-1852; John Glenn, 1852-1853; William F. Giles, 1853-1879; Thomas J. Morris, 1879-1912; John C. Rose, 1910-1922; Morris A. Soper (now U. S. Circuit Judge), 1923-1931; William C. Coleman since 1927, and your speaker from 1931.

Time does not suffice for even a very brief reference to the judicial careers of these several judges. Judges Morris and Rose are remembered with affection, admiration and respect by practically all of us. But probably none of us remembers Judge Morris' predecessor, Judge William F. Giles, whose judicial tenure, excepting only that of Judge Morris, was the longest of any of the judges of the court, and extended during the Civil War period. It is possibly regrettable that the federal court room does not have portraits of all these heretofore incumbent judges. There are indeed excellent portraits of Judges Morris and Rose painted by our late distinguished artist, Thomas C. Corner, which adorn the panels of our largest court room; but of the earlier judges we have only a reproduced portrait of Judge Giles which I was able to have painted some years ago by a WPA artist from an old engraving

[4] Volume XXXVII, No. 1 (March, 1942).

which has long been in my judicial chambers. The portrait of Judge Giles portrays him in a manner of dress characteristic of the Civil War period, a man of about 60 years of age, with good and regular features, clear eyes, high forehead, graying hair, and slender side-whiskers—the general type of face of that of former President Patton of Princeton, and somewhat reminiscent of President Eliot of Harvard—altogether a dignified and intellectual countenance. I have learned something in detail of Judge Giles' life from a scrapbook kept for many years by his wife and recently loaned to me by his grandson, Mr. George Stewart Giles of Chicago. He was evidently a prominent figure in the public life of Baltimore in his time.

The clerks of the court have had longer official lives than the judges. From 1793 to 1940 there were but four successive clerks, the last of these being our much lamented late clerk, Arthur L. Spamer, who entered the office of the clerk as deputy about 1890, became clerk in 1907, and died in the latter part of 1940, being succeeded by our present most efficient clerk, Mr. Charles W. Zimmermann, who had been deputy since 1905. It will thus be seen that the average span of official life of these four clerks was about 37 years. In this connection it is worth while to note that federal court clerks are appointed and removable by the judges, who seldom act from political motives in their appointments, but especially with a desire to obtain efficient service.

Coming now to the present day work of the court, the two main topics for consideration are (1) jurisdiction and (2) procedure.

In their application to courts jurisdiction means *what* cases can the court properly try; and procedure means, *how* the cases can be properly tried.

The jurisdiction of the federal courts differs materially from that of the state courts. The latter are said to be courts of *general* jurisdiction, while the federal courts are of *limited* jurisdiction. The reason for the distinction is this. It has been said that colonists bring with them the laws but not the courts of the mother country. The thirteen original states, therefore, succeeded in general to the laws of England so far as they were applicable to the colonies, but not necessarily to the same courts. Nevertheless the superior courts of the states were empowered by the several state constitutions to try all kinds of cases that in England

had been tried by the superior courts known as the Court of King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of Exchequer. The state courts were therefore courts of general jurisdiction. But in the framing of our American Constitution, just as the federal government generally was granted only certain powers by the thirteen sovereign states, so the federal courts were granted only certain powers, and therefore in this sense they are limited in their jurisdiction. The powers granted to the federal courts are enumerated in Article III of the Constitution. In general they include all cases arising under what we call federal laws, that is, under the Constitution, treaties made by the United States, and acts of Congress, also cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, and in addition controversies based on what we call diversity of citizenship, that is, between citizens of different states, between citizens and aliens, between a state and citizens of another state. Federal courts cannot try cases not falling within these classes. And it will be observed that all these classes may in turn be divided into two: one, those dependent upon the subject matter, that is, the kind of law questions that are presented, and two, cases dependent upon so-called diverse citizenship. Where the jurisdiction is based on subject matter the courts can try cases involving parties no matter who they may be; and where the jurisdiction is based on diverse citizenship, the court can try any kind of subject matter properly arising between the parties. There is, however, to be noted the further limitation that, with the exception of cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, in which the Constitution gives the Supreme Court original jurisdiction, the other federal courts can try only such cases as are provided for by act of Congress. That is to say, in practical effect, while the Constitution expressly states what shall be the whole judicial power of the federal courts, only that part thereof which is specified affirmatively by an act of Congress can be exercised by the federal courts other than the Supreme Court.

Now, while it may seem from this statement that federal courts can try only a narrow range of cases as compared with state courts, nevertheless the most conspicuous and interesting feature of the actual federal court work is the great diversity in the nature of the

cases that are actually tried, as compared with the general run of cases tried in state courts, although the latter have nominally a much wider and more general jurisdiction. At the present time it is well known that a very large percentage of state court cases deals with what we call automobile or other traffic accidents, and are what are generally classed as negligence cases. These vary, of course, with respect to their particular facts but they are, from the legal standpoint, of the same general kind. On the other hand, it is comparatively seldom that the federal judge in any one month tries two cases of the same general classification. For instance, one day we may try a criminal case where the defendant is charged with violating a revenue or income tax law; the next day a case of collision between two ships at sea; the third day a case affecting the reorganization of a financially embarrassed corporation; the next day an important question of constitutional law; and still another day, a case to determine the citizenship or naturalization of an individual. And the next week there may follow a suit by an employe for additional wages under the new "wage and hours" law, or a federal condemnation case for the acquisition of land or property by the United States, or a proceeding to condemn quack medicines or impure food, or to set aside an order of the Interstate Commerce Commission affecting railroad rates; and if the case arises between citizens of different states and involves more than $3,000, the nature of the case may be as variant as any arising from the many complex industrial and commercial or financial controversies between individuals or corporations; with the exception that the federal courts do not try divorce cases nor ordinarily interfere with matters of probate of wills and administration of estates.

In general it may be said that almost every case now presented to a federal court involves some new or old act of Congress; and in recent years there has been a very great amount of new legislation which has to be interpreted and applied in the federal courts. The task of the proper interpretation of the words of a statute is one of the major problems of the courts. The difficulty is inherent in the meaning of English words as used in a particular context. The remark has been attributed to Mr. Justice Cardozo that after he had been on the Supreme Court a year or so he said that his principal difficulty was in properly interpreting the language used

by some congressman in the words of an act of Congress. It is often necessary, in determining the precise scope and meaning of a phrase or sentence in a statute, for the judge to know not only the ordinary meaning of English words, but also the legislative history of the statute, and to understand the national conditions which caused its enactment. Or, as it is sometimes expressed, the mischief which existed and the remedy proposed. It is this great diversity of problems severally presented that gives intellectual zest to the work of the federal trial judge.

As I have said, judicial procedure is the way in which cases are tried in court. To the layman unfamiliar with court procedure, the proceedings may be interesting but may seem very mysterious or even archaic. We must remember that our judicial system has been evolutionary and not revolutionary. It has resulted from long practical experience and has evolved as a result of trial and error and amendment and correction. It was true until comparatively recently that many of our rules of procedure had outlived their usefulness in that the reasons which called them into being no longer existed under modern conditions, and judges and lawyers were criticized for the lack of progress in their profession comparable to that made in the last fifty years in medical science. But this common reproach has no adequate basis with respect to the procedure in the federal courts at the present time. The New Code of Civil Procedure has provided for practically all cases a just, speedy and inexpensive determination. And it is worthy of note that the American Bar Association for some years past has been intensively engaged through a committee of its Judicial Section, of which Judge John J. Parker, Senior Judge of this Fourth Circuit, is chairman, in promoting a like simple and revised judicial procedure for the several states. Our own State of Maryland has recently gone a long step forward along this line. The essential difficulty that had to be overcome was to induce Congress and the legislatures of the several states to give back to the courts the so-called " rule-making power " which is necessary to enable them to modernize their rules of procedure. It must seem obvious to any disinterested observer that the courts should have this power fully as an independent branch of the government; but it has required and is still taking in many of the states, a long campaign to induce the legislatures to grant this power to the courts.

This is rather striking and inconsistent when we know that nearly every new administrative tribunal created by act of Congress or the state legislature gives the new board the power to make its own rules. "Home rule" for the courts is even more necessary, in furtherance of speedy, just and inexpensive litigation, than in the case of administrative tribunals. Until the courts have this rule-making power they, as institutions, or the officers thereof, can not properly be blamed for the continuance of outmoded and uneconomical methods of procedure.

The proverbial law's delay has been popularized in song and story. The outstanding illustration is Dickens' story of the case of Jarndyce v. Jarndyce in *Bleak House* where, after 20 years of alleged litigation over a fund in court, the case was finally dismissed because the court costs had eaten up the fund. Such a case may have been possible in the time of Dickens but rarely now. Except in a very few congested districts with insufficient judges, as possibly in New York City, cases are now tried and disposed of in the federal courts with very reasonable promptness. In fact in our Maryland federal court practically any case can be reached for trial within thirty days after the parties are ready for trial. Nor can one party who alone desires delay unreasonably avoid a prompt trial. Nor can appeals now unduly extend litigation. In federal criminal cases a convicted defendant must enter his appeal within five days, and it is generally now disposed of by the appellate court within two or three months thereafter; and generally it may be said at the present time that it is the very exceptional and not the usual case which entails long litigation.

If the infrequent visitor to our courts is curious as to some of our procedure, he will find on inquiry that there is a very good reason for everything that is done. Some things done may seem to him but empty formalities, but if one looks below the surface, it will be found that each custom of the court is based on a valid reason. Thus the judge wears a robe to remind himself and the public that he fills a public office which requires appropriate dignity and restraint for himself, and respect and orderly behavior by those in court. When the court session begins the bailiff or crier announces that fact by commanding attention and silence. When the judge enters it is customary for the public to rise and the judge to stand until the court has been publicly called. The

purpose of this again is obviously to call attention to the fact that a serious proceeding is to begin. When the clerk of the court calls the names of the jury panel, this is to identify the jurors present as officers of the court. Again, when the grand jury comes back into court after deliberating in their private room, their names are again called by the clerk to identify them and to give authority to the presentments or indictments which they hand to the court. When the clerk asks them whether they are content that " the court may amend matters of form but not of substance " in the indictments, the purpose is to protect the defendants named from being required to defend themselves against charges not properly made by the grand jury. These and other formalities are not mere idle ceremonies, but have very proper relation to the constitutional requirements of due process guaranteed by the 5th and 14th Amendments to the federal Constitution, the essentials of which are that no person shall be deprived of his life, liberty or property except by a court having proper jurisdiction and after due notice and a fair opportunity to be heard in his own defense.

You often hear the expression " the terms of court." It means those periodic times in the year at which court sessions are held. In olden times when the amount of business in any court was comparatively small, courts were not required to be in continuous session and therefore it was important to the public to know when the court session would begin, in order that the parties interested could be present. Thus in early English judicial procedure, after the courts were established at Westminster Hall in London, there were four fixed times of court each beginning on a particular day. and the time for the beginning of the term was related to some well-known fixture in the ecclesiastical calendar. Thus the four terms of court each of about three months, were known as Michaelmass (St. Michael's Day) beginning about October 1st; Hilary Term, beginning about January 1st; Easter Term, beginning at Easter, and Trinity Term, beginning about July 1st. Now where the courts, especially in the large cities, sit practically continuously from day to day throughout the whole year, the significance of the respective terms of court has largely disappeared. But nevertheless we still preserve the custom for certain purposes of convenience; in our Maryland federal courts especially for change in the personnel of the jury panels. For the state courts in

the counties a new term of court has even more significance, because it often furnishes the occasion for a large gathering of county residents at the county seat to transact business either in or out of court. On the first day of a new term of the federal court there is in attendance a newly summoned grand jury panel and a separate petit jury panel. The former consists of 23 qualified citizens. The qualifications for federal jurors are the same as those for state jurors. In some places, women are eligible, and in others, not. In Maryland they still are not; but each year the legislature is requested to qualify them. Looking forward to the time when they may be possibly qualified in Maryland, arrangements have been made in our new federal court building for their convenience. I have tried cases in Philadelphia and New York where women have served as jurors, as they also do in the District of Columbia. My personal experience has been that they have uniformly made excellent jurors despite the views to the contrary some years ago expressed by the Harvard psychologist, Prof. Munsterberg, who maintained the thesis that while women were equally as intelligent as men and as likely to reach a correct verdict by intuition rather than by reason, they were less susceptible than men to reaching unanimity by the deliberative and argumentative process. A conspicuous case is cited from a western state where, after a protracted murder trial, a jury consisting of eleven men and one woman, failed to reach a verdict after 48 hours' deliberation. It subsequently developed that the only dissenting member of the twelve jurors was the woman. An inquisitive reporter asked her what she had done during the deliberations of the jury and why she had not agreed with the others. Her reply was that she just let the others argue and she *knitted* during the time as she had made up her mind in the first place and was not to be influenced by what the men said. But, as I say, this has not been my personal experience with mixed juries.

In the federal courts particularly there is a well defined distinction between the respective functions of the judge and the jury. After the testimony in the case has been concluded, the Judge orally instructs the jury what is the *law* which must govern them in their decision; but the jury has the sole responsibility to determine the *facts*, and while the judge should properly summarize the testimony in the case, and may, if he thinks it proper, advise

the jury as to the weight of the evidence on any particular issue of fact in controversy, he must tell them that what he says in that respect is merely advisory for them, and they are at liberty to reach their own conclusion on the facts. The orderly, and as nearly as possible the scientific, process for reaching a correct verdict is for the jury to apply the law of the case to the facts as the jury finds them, and the result will be their verdict.

I am a firm believer in the value of our jury system as a fact finding body, but only provided the jury have the benefit of the oral instruction from the judge as to the controlling law, and the help of the judge in the summary of the evidence. Much of the criticism of the jury system has, I think, resulted from the unfortunate practice in some state courts whereby the judge is not permitted to so instruct and advise the jury.

While juries are still a very important arm of the court in certain classes of cases, the greater portion of the work of the federal judge is with cases in which historically the jury does not function. Thus in cases arising in admiralty, in bankruptcy and in equity, and in others when the parties waive a jury trial, the judge must function without the aid of a jury. This makes him the sole judge of both the law and facts. I have found a well tried jury case the most interesting phase of judicial work. It affords greater opportunity for the development of the varied traits of human nature; and indeed nearly every jury case involves an element of drama and sometimes of surprise. It has never ceased to be interesting to me. The climax of the case of course comes with the announcement that the jury has agreed, and the rendition of the verdict by the foreman in the presence of the parties and their attorneys.

Probably the hardest work of the federal trial judge comes in non-jury cases in which now under the new rules he is practically required to write an opinion in every important case. The principal purpose of this is to aid the appellate court, where a case is appealed, to more quickly gather the facts and law of the case as found controlling by the trial judge, and to determine whether his decision was correct. Under the federal judicial system which makes possible flexible use of judicial man power, trial judges not infrequently sit from time to time as members of the Circuit Court of Appeals. When I have sat with the appellate court I have found the opinion of the trial judge very helpful to an understand-

ing of the particular case, and to the determination whether the result of the trial was right or wrong. Without such an opinion the appellate court often has to rather blindly grope through the record to find the controlling point of the case, and especially is this so where the briefs of counsel are lacking in adequacy.

At the present time there is much complaint from lawyers that there are too many and too long judicial opinions. Some years ago a senator of the United States, sitting as a member of a committee investigating court procedure, made the remark, as bearing on delay in deciding cases, that federal trial judges wrote too many opinions and that it would be better if they merely decided cases, as he expressed it, "win, lose or draw," without opinion. But this misconceives the function of the trial judge's opinion. Under the new rules of procedure he is required to make findings of fact and state conclusions of law in every non-jury case. But these formal findings are often not clearly understandable without an accompanying opinion showing how the conclusions of law have necessarily resulted from the findings of fact. Therefore opinions are not written by trial judges merely for the love of finding their own words recorded in printed law books, but for the very important purpose of advising an appellate court as to the true nature of the case as the trial judge sees it. While the well tried jury case furnishes the most interesting feature of our work, the writing of opinions requires the hardest type of intellectual exercise. While some cases can best be immediately decided from the bench at the conclusion of the trial of the case, the novelty and diversity of the legal questions arising under the new federal statutes often require extended study by the judge of the applicable principles of law and prior decided cases to reach his final conclusion on the case.

In addition to presiding in court at the trial of cases and the study in his library of legal problems in preparation of opinions. the federal trial judge has, as a part of his work, a not inconsiderable amount of administrative duties to perform. As he appoints court clerks he has the duty of a certain amount of supervision of the conduct of their offices. He must also appoint referees in bankruptcy and masters in chancery, and United States Commissioners, who act largely as committing magistrates, and to some extent must supervise the activities of these court officials.

Another important duty is the judge's function in the process of naturalization of new citizens. This is a periodic recurrent occurrence in our court at which times on the average a hundred applicants for naturalization are admitted to citizenship. The new Nationality Code of 1940 requires the judge to make a so-called patriotic address to the new citizens to instruct them in the privileges, duties and dignity of citizenship. The occasion is always one for a crowded court room and not infrequently the exercises are attended by representatives of some of our patriotic citizenship societies. In our court the exercises occur on a stated day in each month, except July and August, usually the second Monday of the month at 3 P. M. Any one interested may attend. When we realize that a very large percentage of our whole American citizenship now consists of first or second generations of naturalized subjects, it is almost impossible to over-estimate the very great importance of our laws affecting immigration and naturalization. The two are inextricably interwoven because no applicant for naturalization can now be admitted to citizenship unless he can first prove that he has originally lawfully entered this country for permanent residence.

We have had a long history of the development of our immigration laws. In general it may be said that there was the greatest liberality in admitting immigrants until 1900. Since then there have been successive tightenings of the restrictions, especially in what is known as the Quota Law of 1924, which permits as new immigrants from any particular foreign nationality, only 2% of the number of that nationality now resident in this country. Certain classes of immigrants such as idiots, anarchists, and mental and moral defectives, are entirely excluded. It took many years to obtain a requirement of any educational qualifications for immigrants. Presidents Cleveland, Taft and Wilson successively vetoed acts of Congress to that effect, but finally in 1917 a minimum educational test was enacted over President Wilson's veto. This requires the immigrant to be able, unless physically incompetent, to read thirty or forty words in any known printed language.

The principal requirements for naturalization, in addition to ordinary lawful entry as an immigrant, are residence for five years in this country, and the filing of a declaration of intention to become a citizen at least two years before naturalization. The

applicant is also required to satisfactorily pass an examination which will show that he is at least familiar with the essential features of our form of government and is attached to the principles of the Constitution. Until some years ago this examination was orally held by the judge in open court but in recent years the large number of candidates (about 1,000 a year) has necessarily shifted the holding of the examination to agents of the Department of Justice who mark the papers, requiring 70 as a passing mark, and make recommendations to the court as to admission. However, if the examiner refuses to recommend the applicant he has the right to a personal hearing by the Judge. In the early days when oral examinations in court were customarily held, there is an amusing story of Judge Rose and an Italian fruit vendor. He failed to pass the Judge's simple questions as to the difference between the Mayor of a City and the President of the United States, and Congress and the State Legislature, and similar questions. Judge Rose told him that he had better make further study and apply again in a few months. The Italian very politely bowed and retreated toward the door of the court room, but then turned back and again approached the Judge and respectfully asked permission to ask a question, which was given, and to the Judge's surprise the question was as follows: "Judge, can you tell me how many bananas there are in a bunch." Here the Judge failed to pass his examination and frankly confessed his ignorance. Thereupon the Italian politely remarked, "Well, Judge, you see how it is—You know your business and I know mine."

Your speaker's immediate business is to thank you for your attention, and now adjourn the reading of this paper *sine die.*

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Charles Branch Clark

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, page 192)

THE STATE ELECTIONS OF 1861

The political organization of Maryland was drastically changed by the appeal to arms. The Know Nothing party ceased to function as did the short lived Constitutional Union party. The new Republican party was unable to gain many adherents and for some time was an unimportant faction within the State. The Democratic party ceased to exist openly. Its members were divided in allegiance to the Union, and one faction, sympathetic to the Confederacy, became known as the Secessionist, Peace, or State Rights party. The others, supporting the Lincoln administration and the Federal Government, organized as the Union party and gained control of the State in the special election held in June, 1861, to elect representatives to the United States Congress. Nor was it likely to be ousted from control so long as it was supported and protected by the Federal military force.

The Union party became well organized early in 1861. A convention, held at Baltimore on May 23, 1861, set up a statewide organization. A State Central Committee, consisting of two members from each county and ten from Baltimore City, managed the party business, selected candidates, and conducted the campaign. Union Leagues, later organized throughout the State with representation in the Grand League of Maryland, contributed greatly to the strength of the party.

The State Central Committee, through its chairman Brantz Mayer, issued an address setting forth the principles of the Union party. It denied the right of secession; maintained that the Federal government not only had the right but was also obligated to employ force to preserve the Union; and supported Lincoln's policies for the conduct of the war.[1]

The party organization of Washington County was typical of the county machines. The people quickly joined parties as senti-

[1] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia* (1863), III, 615-616; Bernard C. Steiner, "Brantz Mayer," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* V, (1910), 6.

ment took shape in 1861. The Union party[2] was opposed in Washington County by those who stood for the "Constitution and Equality," generally known as the "Peace" party. Those who composed this group upheld the right of secession and denied the right of the Federal government to coerce the states.[3] These two parties first tested their strength in the Hagerstown municipal elections in April, 1861. The five Union candidates won over their Peace party opponents by an average majority of forty-eight votes. Lewis Fiery, a Unionist, was elected to the House of Delegates shortly thereafter, and Francis Thomas of the same party was supported for Congress.[4] In the fall elections this county gave a large vote to Bradford for governor.

The elections of November, 1861, were to be the last trial of strength between the Unionists and the State Righters or the Peace party. Members of the House of Delegates, senators from eleven counties, a governor, comptroller, judges, commissioners of public works, and county officials were to be elected. The contest between the two parties narrowed down to a fight over the governorship and the control of the legislature. Federal authorities were directly interested in the outcome, and exerted their influence through arbitrary arrests, the voting of soldiers, and the use of troops to secure a Union victory.

Under the Constitution of 1861, Maryland was divided into three districts, the governor to be elected from each in turn. In 1861, the Third District, composed of Harford, Baltimore, Carroll, Frederick, Washington, and Allegany, had the privilege of furnishing the governor.[5] The people showed great interest throughout the summer of 1861 in the approaching gubernatorial nomi-

[2] Leaders of this group were J. D. Bennett, S. M. Fiery, and Lewis P. Fiery who made speeches at the various Union meetings. See T. J. C. Williams, *History of Washington County* (1906), I, 306-307.

[3] *Ibid.*. Many of the leading men of the county belonged to this party. Among them were Colonel George Schley, a lifelong Whig; Judge John Thomson Mason, William T. Hamilton, Richard H. Alvey, Andrew K. Syester, J. Dixon Roman, and George Freaner who had a brilliant career in the legislature and later served in the Confederate Army.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] The First District was composed of the Eastern Shore counties. Governor Hicks, from Dorchester County came from the first District. The Second District consisted of St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert, Prince George's, Anne Arundel, Montgomery, and Howard counties, and Baltimore City. Governor Thomas Watkins Ligon, Hicks' predecessor, came from Ellicott City, Howard County, in the Second District. *Frederick Examiner*, August 7, 1861. For Ligon see Heinrich E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland: From the Revolution to the Year 1908* (1908), pp. 165-170.

nating conventions and campaign to follow. The secession element lost all hope of prevailing upon Governor Hicks to support their cause, but still thought it possible to place a governor in office who would support their side despite the military suppression of the State. The Unionists, on the other hand, were intent upon naming and electing a thoroughly loyal successor to Hicks. And from the beginning the name of Augustus W. Bradford stood out as their most prominent candidate.

The Unionist convention was scheduled to meet in Baltimore on August 15. Ten days prior to this, Bradford received a letter from Alexander Evans, a political leader of Cecil county, in which Evans stated that the Cecil delegation was certain to support Bradford. Evans said that Bradford was the choice of the Cecil county voters. "They see in you an uncompromising Anti-Secessionist with the will, the firmness and the ability to preserve us from the wicked designs of the traitors whose policy would be our ruin."[6] Evans observed, however, that "*all may depend upon Baltimore*"; and expressed fear that unless the Unionists there were thoroughly organized the Secessionists might carry the election.[7]

Each county held its own Union meeting early in August to select delegates to the State convention. The Montgomery County meeting, held at Rockville on August 10, was typical. It was presided over by William Brown, Thomas Fawcett, Samuel Wade Magruder, and George W. Dawson. John T. Vinson was secretary. Five delegates were chosen to the convention.[8] The meeting unanimously adopted resolutions maintaining that the Civil War was one of self defense on the part of the general government; and that the supremacy of the Constitution and the preservation of the Union, "with all the dignity, equality and right of the several States unimpaired," was essential. It also praised Governor Hicks for the part he had played in saving Maryland for the Union.

Resolved, That this convention respectfully tenders to his Excellency Governor Hicks its acknowledgments for the zeal, ability, patriotism, and

[6] Alexander Evans to Bradford, August 5, 1861, Bradford MSS. Maryland Historical Society Library.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] These were A. B. Davis, Dr. Washington Waters, F. S. Pool, H. Franklin Veins, and Thomas Owen. *National Intelligencer*, August 13, 1861.

high moral courage with which, at a time of unexampled difficulties and embarrassment, he had administered the high executive office he now fills, sustaining alike the honor and interest of the State.[9]

The State Union Convention nominated Bradford for Governor by a unanimous vote. Bradford, then at Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, was notified at once of his nomination.[10] Accepting the nomination on August 21, he expressed his " profound gratitude for this mark of their confidence," and accepted the honor conferred upon him, " deeply impressed with its extraordinary importance at this time." His " clearest conviction " was that the interests of Maryland found their " surest guarantee " under the Constitution of the United States. These interests were not ordinary ones, but the " very salvation of our State and her immunity from the devastation of Civil War upon our soil." Bradford said he would direct his efforts at all times, whether elected or not, " to the discharge of the paramount obligations which the faithful pursuits of the objects I have indicated must always necessarily impose." [11]

Augustus Williamson Bradford was born in Bel Air, Harford County, Maryland, on January 9, 1806. His parents, Samuel and Jane (Bond) Bradford, were also born and reared in Bel Air. His grandparents, who were of English ancestry, had migrated to America before the Revolution and settled in Harford County.[12] Bradford attended a " log cabin " school near Bel Air and the Harford County Academy conducted by the Reverend R. H. Davis. He attended the Catholic College of St. Mary's in Baltimore from which he was graduated in 1824.[13] Bradford then entered the law office of Otho Scott in Bel Air, with whom he completed his professional studies in 1827. He was admitted to the Harford

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] " Committee " to Bradford, August 15, 1861, Bradford MSS. The committee chosen to formally notify Bradford of his nomination consisted of Alexander Evans, James B. Ricaud, John B. Seidenstrucker (spelled Seidenstricker in the press), William B. Hill, and Edward Hammond. See also *Baltimore Clipper*, August 23, 1861.

[11] *Baltimore Clipper*, August 23, 1861.

[12] Bradford's paternal grandfather was William Bradford, and his maternal grandfather, William Bond. This data is taken from an account in Bradford's handwriting, Bradford MSS. It has been used by Buchholz, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-183.

[13] St. Mary's College enjoyed a high reputation and numbered among its alumni some of the most distinguished citizens of Maryland, including Governors Bradford and Oden Bowie, Severn Teackle Wallis, John H. B. Latrobe, and Reverdy Johnson.

County Bar and practised his profession in Bel Air until 1833, when he established his residence in Baltimore City.[14]

Bradford became interested in the Whig party and was a Whig elector in 1844. Henry Clay's defeat for the presidency left him cool toward active politics and for sixteen years he "foreswore politics." Except for one speech he refused to go upon the stump or to attend political meetings until 1860.[15] In February of 1845 he was appointed clerk of the Baltimore County Court by Thomas G. Pratt, Whig Governor, and retained this position for the next six years.[16]

Bradford came out of his political seclusion in February, 1861, and was chosen one of Maryland's representatives to the Peace Conference in Washington. There he spoke in favor of the Union, and later toured the State speaking for the same cause. He demonstrated great oratorical powers and this, coupled with his views, won for him the gubernatorial nomination.[17] Bradford contended that when disunion came he could no longer refrain from participation in the affairs of the day. He regarded the question of "the Union as our Fathers made it or secession and separation," as a question of patriotism, not politics. He did not hesitate, therefore, to array himself on the side of the Union, and he was determined to render to the government that sought to preserve it whatever aid he could.[18]

Bradford's nomination was received with the almost unanimous approval of the Unionists in Maryland. Henry Winter Davis said that the Unionists were fortunate in securing Bradford's "name and abilities." Davis offered his time and services "at any time or place if I can aid or relieve you."[19] Reverdy Johnson wrote

[14] Bradford had earlier been interested in civil engineering and before finally settling upon law as a profession he found employment for a time as a surveyor.

[15] Bradford called himself "devotedly attached to the fortunes of its [Whig party] gallant leader [Clay]." The solitary exception to this abstention from speech making from 1844 to 1860 was a speech he delivered at Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, in 1848 at the inauguration of Taylor's campaign for the presidency. At that meeting Bradford first met the war Governor of Pennsylvania, Andrew G. Curtin. A copy of this speech is in Bradford MSS.

[16] The Court at that time had jurisdiction over all suits at law or equity, instituted either in the City or Baltimore County, as well as of all criminal business originating in the county.

[17] At the Conference Bradford had said, "Where I reside, the universal cry is, 'For God's sake, settle these questions,'" See Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (1939), I, 86.

[18] Pennsylvania speech of 1872, Bradford MSS.

[19] Henry Winter Davis to Bradford, August 15, 1861, Bradford MSS. In the same letter Davis thanked Bradford for "the powerful aid and countenance you gave

Bradford: "I am delighted at your nomination." [20] Governor Hicks offered his "hearthiest congratulations," and expressed the opinion that Bradford was capable of carrying on a successful campaign. He cautioned Bradford, however, not to "forget that we have an insidious and never tiring foe to war agt. [against] a wolf in sheep's clothing crying peace to the people, when they are bringing destruction upon them . . ." Hicks, himself, was "in for the fight and the use of all proper means to insure a Union triumph—our motto should be a Union triumph or death, as indeed it will be to Maryland." The Governor warned that "The success of the Secession ticket, to be formed, will be the Death Knell, to the peace and safety of our glorious old state." [21]

Dr. Samuel A. Harrison, a physician of Talbot County, noted in his "Journal" that the Union Convention had nominated "probably the best man that could have been selected. . . . He is a gentlemen of abilities, character, wealth, social position, undoubted loyalty, unequivocal sentiments and possessed of political antecedents no ways prejudicial to his success as a candidate." Harrison also noted that the Secessionists meant to "employ the old trick of nominating a Union man (so-called) in favor of peace—and win votes for him as they did for Mr. May." [22]

The Unionist newspapers were for the most part enthusiastic over Bradford's nomination. The *Baltimore American* called him "one of the truest and most devoted friends of the Union in it." Possessed of a "clear and acute intellect, and of unswerving integrity in the various relations which constitute a good citizen," Bradford was "True as steel in his devotion to the constitution and the Union." [23] The *Baltimore Clipper* lauded Bradford for his "ability, sagacity, energy, and integrity." When the "Union was endangered, when all hands were called to save from a minority the great ship of state . . . Mr. Bradford was among the first to spring to his post." His voice "has been heard eloquently urging the loyal among his fellow citizens to resist to the

me in my late canvass." Davis was referring to the June, 1861, Congressional elections in which he was defeated by Henry May.

[20] Reverdy Johnson to Bradford, August 16, 1861, Bradford MSS.

[21] Thomas H. Hicks to Bradford, August 19, 1861, Bradford MSS.

[22] "Journal of Dr. Samuel A. Harrison," August 16, 1861. Many clippings from the *Baltimore American* are pasted in the "Journal." Maryland Historical Society Library.

[23] August 16, 1861. The *Sun* took no definite stand.

utmost the piratical mob, who were endeavoring to set up in our midst the black manner of rebellion." Bradford was said to possess the " qualities most needed in the Chief Executive."

He has the experience and the judgment to determine, and the firmness, energy and courage to act. His integrity is without the shadow of a stain, and his patrotic devotion to the Union and the Constitution is unquestionable. Quick in thought, sagacious in counsel, and unflinching in the performance of duty, he is altogether worthy of the implicit trust and confidence of Union men of Maryland. Detesting the dangerous dogma of secession as a remedy for no wrong, but the Pandora's box for every evil, cherishing the Union and the Constitution, as the palladium of our civil, religious and political liberty, and at the same time bound by education and interest and conviction to defend all the rights of Maryland under the Constitution and the Union, a slaveholder himself who has suffered severely by the senseless agitation of the slavery question, Mr. Bradford is presented to the Union men of Maryland, as their candidate for Governor, as one in whom they can unhesitatingly repose the fullest confidence that he will neither betray nor desert them, and that he will hold our noble old state firm and steadfast in the Union, disdaining alike the wiles or threats of rebels or rebel sympathizers, and avoiding with equal care any abandonment of a single right of our people to the demands of Abolitionism. The people of Maryland can trust Augustus W. Bradford and they will.[24]

In a later issue the *Clipper* said that Bradford scorned the silly imputation of Republican affiliations, by which traitors have been only too successful in frightening good men from supporting the men on whom Providence and the people have cast the destinies of this great land." [25]

The opposition press, however, bitterly condemned Bradford's nomination. The *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, a secession journal, admitted the abilities of Bradford, but said that " great dissatisfaction " prevailed in the Union party in consequence of his nomination.[26] The *Daily Exchange* condemned Bradford as an " extreme coercionist," as " intemperate in the expression of his opinions as his opinions themselves are violent and prescriptive." He was also an " unconditional " supporter of the Federal government's policy of suppression of the South. Moreover, Bradford was said to have opposed weakening " the effect of these efforts by pausing to inquire into the primary cause of these sectional

[24] *Baltimore Clipper*, August 17, 1861.
[25] *Ibid.*, August 19, 1861.
[26] August 15, 1861. No evidence of such dissatisfaction was found, even in other secession journals.

parties—by wasting all their strength upon the Northern aggressor as the earliest wrong-doer!" [27] Bradford was linked with the Republican party because of his support of the Lincoln administration, but he was not, said the *Daily Exchange*, in complete harmony with the Chicago Republican platform. He should be treated, however, as a Republican, and should receive the same consideration that Lincoln received from the people of Maryland. This meant he should receive an "insultingly few votes" in the coming election, said the *Baltimore Daily Exchange.* Bradford's election would mean the continuation of military suppression of the State—arrests, imprisonments, and homes violated "in contempt of every guaranty of the Constitution distinguishing free men from slaves." [28]

The *Frederick Herald* said that Bradford was a "most ultra coercionist of the Greeley-Blair school." [29] "He out-Herods Herod in his proscriptive sentiments and is in favor of a war of subjugation and extermination." The *Herald* admitted that Bradford had ability but, as an unconditional Unionist associated with the Black Republicans and the "old Court House Clique," he was obnoxious to the people of Baltimore. The *Herald* also asserted that Bradford was an "unconditional supporter of the Chicago platform." This charge was bound to influence those who feared the Republicans would molest slavery. The *Herald* urged citizens of Frederick County to vote against Bradford because, if elected, he would keep them "in a baser subjection than you have been kept by our 'traitor' Governor Hicks"; he would "subjugate you and yours, and destroy your birthright." [30]

On the day after Bradford's official acceptance the *Baltimore American* expressed the desire to get the gubernatorial campaign under way. "We venture to say that the Union nominee . . . is ready to give a clear and unmistakeable expression of the views of the party he represents. Let us have the meetings and the speeches and the sooner the better." [31] Bradford needed no urging and entered at once into an active canvass. According to Reverdy Johnson, he conducted his campaign with distinguished ability.[32]

[27] *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, August 17, 1861, quoting from Bradford's speech at the Maryland Institute in Baltimore in January, 1861.
[28] *Ibid.* [29] August 20, 1861. [30] *Ibid.* [31] August 22, 1861.
[32] See among Bradford MSS a printed copy of the letter written by Reverdy Johnson on May 4, 1874, on the subject of Bradford's claim for indemnity for the

He stressed the need of subordinating all local and partisan considerations that might " impair or jeopardize " the unity and existence of the nation.[33] He recognized the magnitude of the war and foresaw the devastation and ruin that it was bound to entail. Unless the Union could be preserved by a victory of the Federal government he saw " all the future hopes and prospects of our state utterly annihilated." He knew that political factions with selfish ends existed in Maryland, but he hoped that the State would support the " preservation of the Federal Union, the restoration in all parts of the United States of the national authority as superior to all others."

Bradford thought that the most effective way to overthrow the rebellion was to conduct the war not only vigorously and persistently, but in entire accordance with the Lincoln administration. " Every assault upon the Administration," he said, " is to some extent an effort in alliance with the Rebellion. . . . To relinquish the Administration is to relinquish the war." He, therefore, strenuously opposed the " mischievous associations " in Maryland which attempted to unite local or sectional subjects with the main issue. The emancipation issue should not be brought into discussion because " inflammatory as the subject is in itself, we can not conceive how the discussion of it . . . can in any contingency contribute to strengthen the loyalty of Maryland at this crisis, or assist in what she has much at heart, the overthrow of the rebellion." If allowed to become prominent the question of emancipation might " neutralize and alienate many who are now earnestly uniting with us in this chief purpose, and our experience has clearly shown that loyalty once cooled or neutralized soon ripens into open sympathy with the rebellion." Bradford admitted that it was contrary to the State constitution to interfere with slavery in Maryland, but said that he approved measures leading to its gradual abolition. He believed that the rebellion had been instigated " by the especial friends of the institution [slavery] and under pretense of providing for its greater security." He believed also that the war would deal a death blow to slavery. And slave

destruction of his home by the Confederates in the summer of 1864. This letter was written for presentation to the committee on War Claims and it gives a full account of Bradford's part in the war from January, 1861, to the end of the conflict.

[33] Augustus W. Bradford, " Some rough notes on Subject of the Platform which Should be adopted in the Coming Campaign," Bradford MSS.

property would become more worthless in Maryland as the war progressed. Bradford was a slaveholder and intensely interested in the early disposition of the subject, but he opposed the introduction of the slavery issue in the campaign.

The *Daily Exchange* continued to link Bradford with the "Black Republicans" and their Chicago platform. Bradford acted as "though he had been expressly nominated to carry out its dogmas." The paper charged that Lincoln's administration was giving aid to Bradford. "All the officeholders, newspapers, and supporters of the Administration are his supporters and advocates also." Bradford must be defeated or the principles of the Chicago platform would be extended to and within Maryland's borders. The people were warned not to be led away by cries of "Union!" "Our flag!" "Down with secession," and "Support the government!" Such catch expressions were intended to unite Maryland with the Republican party.[34]

The Bradford party was attacked as the "war party," whose aim was to prosecute a war against the Southern states. The latter felt that separation from the Union would be productive of greater peace and happiness, and that a continued association with the North would seriously imperil Southern institution and deny the Southern states equality of privileges under the Constitution. The Southern states, therefore, were not acting at variance with the letter or the spirit of the Declaration of Independence.[35]

The State Rights group did not at first nominate a candidate for governor but contented themselves by attacking Bradford. In October, however, State Rights meetings were held in various parts of the State and the leaders of this group finally decided to put forth a candidate. These local conventions united on Benjamin C. Howard of Pikesville, Baltimore County. Howard accepted and promised his followers that if elected he would endeavor to discharge the duties of Governor "so as to promote the honor and interest of the State in the very perilous circumstances by which we are all surrounded." [36]

The State Rights party made a strong appeal to labor.

> If they [laborers] vote, at the coming election, in favor of the Repub-

[34] *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, August 26, 1861. See for similar views the *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, August 17, 1861, and subsequent issues.
[35] *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, August 28, 1861.
[36] *The South*, Baltimore, October 29, 1861.

lican candidate for Governor, Mr. Bradford, they vote for the prosecution of the war and thereby do not vote only to sustain a Republican administration, but also to impose additional taxes on themselves. Moreover, whatever support they give to Republicanism, will be given virtually to Abolitionism, for it is the extremists of the Republican party who control the action of the Government, and who would have persistently rejected every proposition looking to a generous adjustment of the quarrel, and who will consent to nothing less than the unconditional submission of the South.[37]

Howard's campaign gained such strong support that the Bradford forces became apprehensive of the November results. Governor Hicks wrote Bradford that he concurred in a remark the latter had made " that the fates are agt. us; however let us believe all for the best." [38] Hicks also wrote to William H. Seward that rebellious sentiment was growing in Maryland.

The loyal States and our army and navy are full of traitors; many of our office-holders are faithless to the Government and unless things are closely looked after and the war carried forward with greater vigor, we shall be whipped I fear. I have not been scared until recently. . . .[39]

The *Baltimore American* urged that Union men " perfect their organization and render their success as near certain as possible." The stakes were too high to leave anything at the " mercy of chances," for the results of the election would mean " Union or Disunion." Frequent meetings and consultations were deemed necessary to secure the " concert of action " needed at the coming election.[40]

Henry Winter Davis kept his promise to Bradford and entered whole-heartedly into the campaign. He made a notable speech at Baltimore on October 16 before a large Union meeting, presided over by L. W. Gosnell, a Breckinridge Democrat.[41] Davis struck an optimistic tone in this speech. He declared that the Secessionists had practically defaulted the election by delaying the nomination of a candidate for governor and in not nominating candidates for the House of Delegates in half the counties.

[37] *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, August 28, 1861.
[38] T. H. Hicks to Bradford, October 1, 1861, Bradford MSS.
[39] T. H. Hicks to William H. Seward, October 12, 1861, *Official Records*, 2nd Series, II, p. 99.
[40] *Baltimore American*, October 16, 1861.
[41] Davis' speech may be found in Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, III, " Diary," p. 52; also " Supplement," 1861-1864, Document No. 26, pp. 170-184.

Actually, said Davis, "secession as an active, dangerous and agitating element . . . now lies writhing in its last agonies in Maryland." Davis believed that one-third of the Maryland people were disloyal in that they would not take up arms for the Union, but neither would they fight for the South.

Henry W. Hoffman, Collector of Customs in Baltimore, was also optimisitic of the results. He wrote as follows to Major General Nathaniel P. Banks:

> So far as we are able to perceive there will be no regular or serious opposition to the Union state ticket. The *peace* men will struggle to maintain their supremacy in one branch of the Legislature (the Senate) and to prevent which it will be necessary for us to carry the doubtful and hardly contested counties of Queen Anne's, Calvert and Prince George. To this end we shall devote all our energies until the day of election. The bold and vigorous policy inaugurated by yourself whilst in command here has been productive of the most salutary results. We no longer hear the mutterings of secession upon the corners of the streets. As one decided step has followed another the mutterings have grown fainter each day until secession, if it has not become extinct, has at least been subdued and thoroughly humiliated. I have no fears that the result of the election in November will be a complete vindication of the loyalty and patriotic devotion of Maryland to the Union and Constitution as made by our Fathers.[42]

Union friends in the lower Eastern Shore counties, however, were "disheartened" by the continued activities of the disloyal group. They were in "danger of being overawed by the influence of these rebel organizations."[43]

A great Union demonstration took place at the Front Street Theatre in Baltimore on October 29. The principal feature of the occasion was an address by Congressman Francis Thomas of Western Maryland. While the election was not mentioned, all knew that Thomas' Unionist appeal was made in an attempt to secure a victory for Bradford. Thomas declared that the demagogues, not the people of the South, had been the aggressors on the question of slavery. Although a slaveholder himself, and the son of a slaveholder, Thomas favored the restriction of slavery from new states, but he would protest against any interference with the institution where it was already established, and would

[42] Hoffman to Banks, October 17, 1861, *Secret Correspondence Illustrating the Condition of Affairs in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1863), pp. 30-31.

[43] Major General John A. Dix to General George B. McClellan, October 21, 1861, *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 623.

defend it with his blood. He did not believe, however, that Lincoln or any member of his cabinet intended to interfere with slavery. Thomas also condemned Chief Justice Taney's decision in *Ex parte Merryman.*[44]

Reverdy Johnson, nominated by the Union men of Baltimore County on September 12, was the leading Unionist candidate for the legislature. His professional duties prevented him from making an active campaign. He made his one and only speech at Calverton in Baltimore County, on November 4. In it he vehemently attacked the secessionists, placing the responsibilty for the war upon their shoulders. Before any aggression they " threw aside the mask, cast aside allegiance, and avowed themselves rebels and traitors." Johnson insisted that the war was waged not to subjugate the South, but to " vindicate the Constitution and laws [,] . . . maintain the existence of government, . . . suppress the insurrection, force the citizen to return to his duty, and restore him to the unequalled benefits of the Union. . . . We must remain faithful to duty and to honor " and " avoid, as we would pestilence or famine, all communion with treason " and victory would be the final result.[45]

Toward the close of the campaign the Federal authorities in Maryland and the Unionists themselves demanded the aid of Federal troops to safeguard Union voters and prevent the disloyal from voting. Major-General John A. Dix wrote to General McClellan from his headquarters in Baltimore asking for steamboats or tugs that drew no more than five feet of water, that could be used to " go up the rivers and enter the numberless inlets and bays on the Eastern Shore . . . breaking up . . . the meetings which are held . . . in hostility to the Government." [46] Governor Hicks became so alarmed that he wrote to Major-General Banks asking him to look

> closely to Maryland, until our election is over . . . . The Confederates will endeavor to effect something by which to operate on our elections. . . . I am anxious to have a killing majority rolled up agt. Secessionism. Not only am I, and is Maryland, deeply interested, but the Government is greatly concerned. Will it be possible to have Col. Kenly's Regt. placed near Baltimore, temporarily, so as to save their votes, I hope so . . .[47]

[44] Moore, *op. cit.*, III, Document No. 115, pp. 250-253.
[45] *Ibid.*, Documents pp. 272-276. The speech is printed in full.
[46] *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 614-615. The letter is dated October 7, 1861.
[47] T. H. Hicks to Banks, October 26, 1861, *Secret Correspondence Illustrating the*

The Unionists utilized armed troops to swell their majorities. Several Union delegations visited General Dix at his Baltimore headquarters, and urged that soldiers of the Maryland Regiments in the field be given permission to vote in order to swell the Union vote. Governor Hicks' proposal of this expedient was backed by the State Central Committee of the Union party. Maryland had raised some 6,000 men, one-half of whom were in Baltimore where they were expected to remain until after the election. It was suggested that these troops be permitted to cast their votes. Many feared that the Union ticket could not carry the State without this aid. General Dix did not agree on this point, but felt it was necessary for "our future quietude" that an overwhelming victory should be scored by the Unionists. He therefore urged his superiors to allow Maryland soldiers to attend their respective polls on November 6.[48] Consequently, Secretary of War Cameron issued the following directions to General McClellan:

> In order to have a full vote in Maryland at the coming election . . . so that the legal voters may decide by their ballots all public questions, you are hereby directed to grant three days furlough to the soldiers of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Regiments of Maryland Volunteers, all to return to duty on Thursday, November 7th.[49]

McClellan carried out these directions and provided for transportation and for temporary replacements for Maryland soldiers in the Army of the Potomac.[50]

General Randolph B. March, Chief of McClellan's staff, ordered General Banks on October 29 to prevent rebels in the State from interfering with the election by sending detachments of soldiers to protect Union voters and to see that "no disunionists are allowed to intimidate them, or in any way to interfere with their rights." Disloyal Marylanders residing in Virginia should, if they returned, be arrested and if necessary the writ of habeas corpus should be suspended.[51] The same order was sent to General Stone, also commanding in Maryland. On November 1 General Dix

Condition of Affairs in Maryland, pp. 31-32. Kenly was in command of the First Maryland Regiment.

[48] Dix to General McClellan, October 25, 1861, *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 628-629.

[49] Cameron to McClellan, October 28, 1861, *Secret Correspondence* . . . pp. 32-33.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33, 38.

[51] *Official Records*, 2nd Series, I, 608; Edward McPherson, *Political History of the Rebellion* (1865), p. 308.

ordered the United States marshal in control of Maryland, and the provost marshal of Baltimore, to arrest all rebels who were returning to vote in the election, since their purpose was to carry the State into treason and rebellion. He said:

> I, therefore, . . . require you to take into custody all such persons in any of the election districts or precincts in which they may appear at the polls, to effect their criminal attempt to convert their elective franchise into an engine for the subversion of the government and for the encouragement and support of its enemies.
>
> In furtherance of this object I request the judges of election . . . in case any such person shall present himself and offer his vote, to commit him until he can be taken into custody by the authority of the United States; and I call on all good and loyal citizens to support the judges of elections, the United States Marshal and his deputies, and the Provost Marshal of Baltimore and police, in their efforts to secure a free and fair expression of the voice of the people of Maryland, and at the same time to prevent the ballot-box from being polluted by treasonable votes.[52]

General Dix justified this brazen violation of Maryland's right to conduct her own elections on the ground that he had no power to force disunionists to take an oath to support the constitution of the United States, since " the constitution and laws of Maryland provide for the exercise of the elective franchise by regulations with which I have no right to interfere." The only way to handle them, therefore, was to arrest them for treason and to hold them in jail until the election was over.[53]

The *National Intelligencer*, organ of the Lincoln administration published an article intended to intimidate the candidates and voters who dared to differ from the administration. It said that while the

> secession of any other state diminishes, to the extent of its powers, the nation's strength and resources . . . the secession of Maryland, from its geographical position, necessarily destroys the national government altogether, or renders that government tributary to Maryland, or to the power with which Maryland may ally herself.[54]

This fact justified the government's vigorous measures toward Maryland by which it

[52] *Official Records*, 2nd Series, I, 609-610; McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 308; Frank Moore, *op. cit.*, III, Document No. 124, p. 269.

[53] *Official Records*, 2nd Series, I, 609. A manuscript copy of this letter may be found in Bradford MSS.

[54] *National Intelligencer*, October 31, 1861. This article was said to have been written by Congressman Charles B. Calvert of Maryland. See *Maryland News Sheet*, November 8, 1861.

forbade secession and interdicted the license of departure; by one stroke prevented the State from becoming a hostile or foreign power, and purged it of those who were continuing its ruin in plotting to bring upon its soil the cause of rebellious war.[55]

The *National Intelligencer* warned those forming tickets "composed of notoriously disloyal men." "Once and for all, such persons ought to know that *their purpose cannot succeed*"; and if the Union men cannot prevent their design, "that the United States government is strong enough to prevent it, is absolutely sure." The rebel nominations "have already advised the Government who they are whom their friends deem worthy the honors of Fort Lafayette, and whom, without injustice, it can suspect." [56] The military authorities joined forces with the Unionists. General Dix said: "We have shown that we can control Maryland by force. We now wish to show that we can control it by the power of opinion, and we shall lose the whole moral influence of our victory if the right of suffrage is not free, and maintained." [57] Unfortunately, the "power of opinion" necessarily meant military power.

The threat of military interference at the Maryland elections stirred up great wrath among those favoring the Southern cause. Their protest against interference by the Federal Government was based on the ground that it was contrary to law. The State legislature had passed an act in 1860 declaring that

> No commissioned or non-commissioned officer, having command of any soldier or soldiers quartered or posted in any district of any county in this state, shall muster or embody any of the troops, or march any recruiting party within the view of any place of election during the time of holding said election, under the penalty of one hundred dollars. This section not to apply to Baltimore.[58]

[55] *National Intelligencer*, October 31, 1861.

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] Dix to Provost Marshal Dodge of Baltimore, November 5, 1861, McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-309. General Dix ordered Colonel H. E. Paine, commanding the Fourth Regiment of the Wisconsin Volunteers, to leave Baltimore on November 4 with his regiment, a company of light artillery, and a company of cavalry with rations for fifteen days, for Snow Hill in Somerset County on the Eastern Shore. The object was to give protection to Union men of Somerset and Worcester counties, to prevent the migration or importation of voters from the Eastern Shore counties of Virginia, and to suppress hostility or demonstrations against the United States government. Citizens arrested for disloyality were to be sent to Fort McHenry. But "you will take especial care not to interfere in any manner with persons held to servitude, and in order that there may be no cause for misrepresentation or cavil, you will not receive or allow any negro to come within your lines." *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 641-642.

[58] McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

The importance of the act was lessened by the exception of Baltimore, for that city held about one-third of the State's voters. The act, nevertheless, guaranteed that legally there should be no State, much less Federal, interference at elections.

The election passed off quietly and peaceably although some arrests were made on the charge of disloyalty. These arrests prevented the opponents of the Union candidates from casting a full vote. The *Baltimore American* regretted the intimidation caused by these arrests for there had been no doubt that a large majority of the legal voters of Baltimore and the State were determined to preserve the Union. The Unionists, however, desired retaliation in Baltimore City for the intimidation used by disunionists in the elections of April 24.[59] Except for this affair, the election in Baltimore was generally conceded to have been conducted fairly. The judges of election were men of standing and character and, in most of the precincts, opposition judges were present. Troops were used quite effectively in St. Mary's County, which gave Howard a vote of 1,144 to 207 for Bradford.

> The election . . . passed off without the occurrence of any incident worthy of particular mention. The presence of large bodies of Federal troops at or near the polls in Charlotte Hall, Chaptico, and Patuxent districts operated to prevent a full turn out of the Southern rights vote not only in these districts but also in the other voting precincts in the County. The vote is at least two hundred short, nor can it be doubted that nine-tenths of those who failed to vote belonged to the Southern rights interests. There were no arrests made, and no interference on the part of the military with the voters, every man voting who chose to do so without obstruction. The good conduct and discipline of the troops are highly spoken of.[60]

There was some disorder at Prince Frederick, the county seat of Calvert County, which Howard carried by a vote of 489 to 423. The Honorable Augustus R. Sollers, ex-member of Congress, was arrested for using violent and treasonable language, and for flashing a large knife with which he " cut to the right and left." Other arrests were made but those arrested were soon released upon taking an oath that they had not borne arms against Union forces, and upon swearing allegiance to the United States.[61] The situa-

[59] *Baltimore American*, November 7, 1861.
[60] *National Intelligencer*, November 12, 1861, quoting the *Beacon* of Leonardtown.
[61] Report of Brigadier-General Oliver O. Howard, U. S. Army, November 9, 1861, *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 386-387.

tion in Frederick County was thus reported by General Edward Shriver. "We feel much indebted to the military . . . for their polite and gentlemanly deportment, . . . their presence at the polls had the effect of producing order and preserving the peace." [62]

The *Centreville State Rights*, of Queen Anne's County, said that "The Peace Ticket was defeated in this County principally by the use of money. The threats of the Government and the presence of Northern Soldiers also contributed to the result." [63] The *Kent Conservator*, of Chestertown, Kent County, also complained of the use of money and of armed forces distributed throughout the counties. It stated that "aged, respectable and worthy citizens were arrested and imprisoned miles away from their families and homes," for being "peace men." [64]

A correspondent of the *Maryland News Sheet* wrote that eight or nine thousand Federal troops were stationed in Anne Arundel County, chiefly in Annapolis, on election day. Nine enlisted men of the United States Navy, from the *Alleghany*, a receiving ship lying in the port of Annapolis, went ashore and voted the Union ticket. They were non-residents and their votes were challenged but the protest was overruled. These illegal votes, said the correspondent, were enough to defeat the State Rights senatorial candidate of Anne Arundel, who lost the election by six votes, and the State Rights candidate for the House of Delegates who had been nosed out by four votes.[65]

General Banks listed the places in his official report that had been patrolled by troop detachments, cavalry, or infantry, and claimed that no armed men had gone near the polls nor had there been any serious disturbance in the State. Disloyal interference had been planned at several places, but the presence of troops had frightened it away. The people of Maryland were generally satisfied with the result of the election and the part played by the military said Banks.[66]

[62] Shriver to General N. P. Banks, November 8, 1861, *Secret Correspondence* . . . pp. 37-38.

[63] Quoted by the Baltimore *South*, November 4, 1861.

[64] Baltimore *South*, November 14, 1861.

[65] *Maryland News Sheet*, November 19, 1861.

[66] Banks to Brigadier-General Williams, Headquarters, Army of the Potomac, November 14, 1861, *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 651-652. Among the towns to which Banks sent detachments of troops were Hagerstown, Funkstown, Sandy

The election returns gave Bradford 57,502 votes to 26,070 for Howard. The total vote for the State was 83,572, considerably less than the 92,502 cast at the 1860 presidential election. The discrepancy resulted from the smaller Baltimore City vote, which was 21,269 in this election compared to 30,146 in November, 1860. Bradford carried all but four counties—St. Mary's, Charles, and Calvert in Southern Maryland, and Talbot on the Eastern Shore. A strong Union majority was returned to the State legislature. The House of Delegates had sixty-eight Union members and only six State Rights members while the Senate, with a few hold-overs from the previous legislature, had thirteen Unionists and eight State Rights members. This gave the Unionists a majority of sixty-seven on a joint ballot.[67] The new House of Delegates was considered one of the most prominent since the Revolutionary War.

The Unionist press was generally pleased with the victory. The *Baltimore American* was delighted with the result. It admitted that the arrest of disloyal voters and the fear of additional arrests kept many of the opposition from voting, but even " if Secession had brought up its last voter it could not have changed the result." Now, with a loyal legislature and a governor " as true as any man in the nation in his devoted loyalty," it was hoped that the " accursed blight " of the disloyal legislature, suppressed in September, was forever wiped out and the State vindicated.[68] The *Baltimore Clipper* termed the result a " glorious victory . . . a victory at the ballot box instead of on the battlefield." The *Clipper* claimed that only those known to be active aiders and abetters of the rebellion, or participants in it, were kept from voting. " For such as these the occasion was made a convenience for arrest." The victory was " enough to teach rebels that Baltimore is loyal to the core, and that treason has no foothold in our midst." [69]

The Baltimore *South* ironically gave its " Union friends . . . great credit for the moderation exercised as there was no earthly reason, beyond the expense of ticket printing, why the majority

Hook, Petersville, Jefferson, Urbana, New Market, Buckeystown, Frederick City, Woodsborough, Myersville, Wolfesville, Emmitsburg, Mechanicstown, Wolfe's Tavern and Rockville.

[67] *National Intelligencer*, November 12, 1861.

[68] November 8, 1861.

[69] November 7, 1861.

should not have been 40,000 instead of 14,000." [70] This journal had been "reliably informed that the Federal troops from every section of the country kindly aided their Union friends here, and deposited their ballots in as many wards and precincts as suited their convenience." [71] The *St. Mary's Beacon* observed that "Mr. Bradford, the war candidate, has been—elected we think they call it—by thirty or three hundred thousand majority, we have forgotten which." The size of the majority made no difference for the Lincoln administration could have made it what it chose by applying the test oath more strictly, and by arresting State Rights men.

> The Union organs may sing until they sing themselves hoarse over their victory, but Mr. Lincoln . . . sees clearly that when his support is withdrawn, the Union force is scattered to the four winds. . . . How much longer he may be able to hold the . . . liberties of Maryland in the hollow of his hand, is . . . unknown . . . but . . . when he can hold them no longer, the Union party may order its winding-sheet.[72]

The Union leaders in Maryland were highly gratified at their victory. Governor Hicks, replying to General Banks who had sent his "kind congratulations on the result of the recent Election," offered his "very sincere thanks for the Important aid you gave us, I say yr. important aid, it was—for *it* and your kindness generally I must ever feel grateful." [73] Congressman Crisfield wrote that the Union victory "ought to insure us quiet; and for me, I would treat with severity all who, hereafter, shall attempt to disturb the peace or corrupt the loyalty of our people." [74] State Senator Anthony Kimmel of Baltimore was convinced that Bradford had a "splended career" before him, and because of his known character and nerve, he was sure that Maryland was safe in his hands. "Under your patriotic administration of her government affairs she is and will be out of danger as the majority so large of her generous people have thrown treason sky high at the Ballot box." [75]

[70] Baltimore *South*, November 7, 1861. These figures refer to Baltimore City's majority.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] Quoted by *Maryland News Sheet*, November 16, 1861. According to the report of Brigadier General George Sykes, who toured St. Mary's County and guarded the polls, the elections were "held without trouble or disturbance," and the vote was almost as large as normally. *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 387-388.
[73] Hicks to Banks, *Secret Correspondence* . . . p. 39. This letter is undated.
[74] Crisfield to Bradford, November 10, 1861, Bradford MSS.
[75] Kimmel to Bradford, November 8, 1861, Bradford MSS.

The news of the Union victory was received with a feeling of relief by the Federal authorities. President Lincoln was so assured as to Maryland's loyalty that he drew up a proclamation releasing political prisoners of the State on condition that they would not reclaim offices they may have held at the time of their arrests, that they would take the oath of allegiance to maintain the Union and the Constitution, and that they would in no way abet or aid the existing insurrection against the Federal government.[76] This proclamation, however, was never issued, although Reverdy Johnson and others urged it as a means of conciliating the hostile elements in Maryland.[77]

The manner of Bradford's election is perhaps the least satisfactory feature of his entire career, private and public. That he was responsible for the military interference in his behalf is doubtful, but it is certain that he had knowledge of the way in which his success was brought about. It is likely that he would have won the election without the aid of the Federal government, and by a comfortable margin. But from a moral point of view, a large proportion of his vote was secured by intimidation, the illegal voting of soldiers, and the unlawful use of soldiery. Ignoring these facts, Bradford declared that his inauguration called to "mind the value and success of republican institutions in recognizing, as it were, the power of the people peacefully to select and inaugurate their political rulers by the simple expression of the voice of the majority." [78]

The results of the 1861 election destroyed practically all hope the State Rights party had of taking Maryland into the Confederacy, and many Maryland sympathizers with the Southern cause fled from the State after November, 1861. Many of them enlisted in the Confederate army to join their fellow citizens already recruited by a station that had been set up in Baltimore in 1861.[79] The Federal and State authorities promptly suppressed all signs of secession sympathy of an active nature. Typical of such action was the seizure on November 20 of Miller's Hotel in Baltimore. This was done to break up arrangements, which

[76] *Official Records*, 2nd Series, I, 617.
[77] *Ibid.*, 2nd Series, I, 704.
[78] Bradford's inaugural address, January 8, 1862, Bradford MSS. Also printed in *Maryland Senate Documents* (1861-1862), Doc. A.
[79] *Official Records*, 1st Series, I, 276.

Southern sympathizers had made, for carrying on regular communication with Confederates in Virginia. Employers of and lodgers in the hotel were held responsible for this communication with "Secessia," but the proprietors, although loyal men, were kept under strict surveillance.[80]

After the election Maryland became in fact as well as in name a loyal state. Southern sympathizers still gave the Union leaders much trouble but there was little likelihood of a successful secession movement getting under way. Neither was there any likelihood that the Federal government would be seriously interfered with. There were times when Governor Bradford did not see eye to eye with the Federal administration, but these differences arose over methods of conducting war and not over its major purposes.

(*To be continued.*)

[80] Moore, *op. cit.*, III, "Diary," p. 85.

BARBARA FRIETSCHIE

By Dorothy Mackay and William Rogers Quynn

(Continued from Volume XXXVII, page 254)

APPENDIX I

A Journey to Pennsylvania in 1750

The journey of the so-called Palatines to this country entailed enormous hardships. The time required was about half a year, planned so as to profit by the summer weather, but thus arriving in the fall or winter when conditions were bad here. Gottlieb Mittelberger, who made the crossing in 1750, has left an account of it,[1] from which the following passages are taken:

This journey lasts from the beginning of May to the end of October . . . amid such hardships as no one is able to describe adequately with their misery.

The cause is because the Rhine-boats from Heilbronn to Holland have to pass by 36 custom-houses, at all of which the ships are examined, which is done when it suits the convenience of the custom-house officials. In the meantime the ships with the people are detained long, so that the passengers have to spend much money. The trip down the Rhine alone lasts therefore 4, 5, and even 6 weeks.

When the ships with the people come to Holland, they are detained there likewise 5 or 6 weeks. . . .

Both in Rotterdam and in Amsterdam the people are packed densely like herrings so to say, in the large sea-vessels. One person receives a place of scarcely 2 feet width and 6 feet length in the bedstead, while many a ship carries four to six hundred souls; not to mention the innumerable implements, tools, provisions, water-barrels and other things which likewise occupy much space.

On account of the contrary winds it takes ships 2, 3, and 4 weeks to make the trip from Holland to Kaupp (Cowes) in England. . . .

When the ships have for the last time weighed their anchors near the city of Kaupp (Cowes) in Old England, the real misery begins with the long voyage. For from there the ships, unless they have good wind, must often sail 8, 9, to 12 weeks before they reach Philadelphia. But even with the best wind the voyage lasts 7 weeks.

But during the voyage there is on board these ships terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of sea-sickness, fever, dysen-

[1] Carl Theo. Eben, (trans.), *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754.* (Philadelphia, 1898), pp. 18-25.

tery, headache, cancer, mouth-rot, and the like, all of which come from old and sharply salted food and meat, also from very bad and foul water, so that many die miserably.

Add to this want of provisions, hunger, thirst, frost, heat, dampness, anxiety, want, afflictions and lamentations, together with other trouble. . . .

When the ships have landed in Philadelphia after their long voyage, no one is permitted to leave them except those who pay for their passages or can give good security; the others, who cannot pay, must remain on board the ships till they are purchased, and are released from the ships by their purchasers.

APPENDIX II

The Barbara Frietschie Bibles

We have found three Bibles which are said to have belonged to Barbara Frietschie, and there is one other concerning which we are unable to get details.

The Bible now in the " Barbara Frietchie house " was undoubtedly the property of Barbara's father, Nicholas Hauer. An inscription, now illegible for the most part, still shows the unquestionably authentic statement, " dieser biebel [*sic*] gehöret mir, Niclaus Hauer," in German script of the eighteenth century. We have no evidence that it ever belonged to Barbara. It was offered for sale in 1900 [1] by Miss E. Wilhelmina Mergardt of Frederick, who said that her grandmother had received it from Mrs. Frietschie, her neighbor. This Bible is extremely interesting for it was printed in Germantown by Christopher Sauer in 1743.[2]

A second Bible, printed in Halle, Germany, in 1777, now at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is the property of the Reformed Church Historical Society. It was presented by the Reverend Dr. Eschbach, pastor of the German Reformed Church in Frederick. A note, probably in this minister's hand, states that it had been the property of the Reverend Henry Weiter, step-father of Barbara Frietschie. The Bible is said to have been given to the Reverend Dr. Eschbach by members of Barbara's family after her death. There are no inscriptions except the note mentioned.

[1] W. H. Egle, *Notes and Queries* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1900), pp. 4-5.

[2] Christopher Sauer published the first Bible to appear in this country in a European language. The first edition appeared in 1743, the date of Nicholas Hauer's Bible.

Barbara Frietschie had no step-father, and long searches have failed to connect her with the only Henry Weiter we have been able to find, a Heinrich Weider or Weidner, one of the preachers licensed by Otterbein.[3] Barbara's husband did have a step-father, but his name was Johann Michael Hauser. If, as we believe, this Bible did not come directly to the Reverend Dr. Eschbach, but went originally to the Reverend Dr. Zacharias, Barbara's pastor,[4] both names and relationships of previous owners may have become confused before or after it fell into Dr. Eschbach's hands.[5]

The third Bible has been acquired by the writers,[6] having come to them from Barbara's nephew and executor, Nicholas Hauer, through his nephew, Daniel Hauer Quynn. This Bible is in English, and was printed in Philadelphia by M. Carey in 1815. There is no evidence of previous ownership by Barbara Frietschie, although it is attributed to her by family tradition. One thing suggests her as a possible owner, the fact that the death of her brother Daniel and his wife Margaret were recorded in the "Family Record" pages, in 1841 and 1846. The only other entries on these pages are the names "George" and "Mary" and their record was not completed. The only possible George and Mary are the sister and brother-in-law of Barbara, who moved to Kentucky, and concerning whom nothing is known. Barbara may have written these records, such as they are. We have no reliable samples of handwriting with which to compare them. It is equally probable, however, that the Bible had been the property of her brother Daniel Hauer, whose death, with that of his wife, was recorded by a subsequent owner, his son and Barbara's nephew, Nicholas Hauer (1819-1912). This is further suggested by the fact that the Bible was later presented to her brother's namesake and grand-son, Daniel Hauer Quynn. A number of slips of paper and some clippings found in the Bible suggest that it was in use by some member of the Hauer family as early as 1829.

It is obviously impossible to determine which of these was

[3] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, X (1915), pp. 61-2; A. W. Drury, *History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton, Ohio, 1924), p. 155.

[4] Mrs. Frietschie left a legacy to Dr. Zacharias. See her will, Court House, Frederick, Liber APK, no. 1, fol. 230.

[5] Dr. Eschbach succeeded Dr. Zacharias in 1874, eighteen months after the latter's death.

[6] On deposit at the Maryland Historical Society.

Barbara's own Bible, in use at the time of her death. A number of her letters and receipts are said to have been found in the first of these Bibles, that of Nicholas Hauer, her father. John Casper Frietschie, in his will,[7] left his " family bible and German books " to his wife. Presumably the Bible, like the books mentioned, was German. In this case, he may have referred to the one now in Lancaster. The other German Bible would not have been his to dispose of. If it was in the family at all, it was the property of his wife, having come from the Hauer family. We have found no reference at all to the English Bible which we now own.

APPENDIX III

The Hauer, Ziegler, and Frietschie Families

Although there is definite record of the name of Barbara Frietschie's father, her mother's name is preserved only by tradition, and we do not know the dates of her birth or death. Such dates as have been connected with her have turned out to belong to Catherine Hauer, wife of her husband's brother.

The traditional name of Nicholas Hauer's wife was Catherine Zealer or Zeiler.[1] This is probably a garbled form of the German " Ziegler," resulting perhaps from ignorance of German on the part of some of those who have preserved it. It happens that Niklaus Hauer and his wife acted as sponsors, on January 21, 1773, for a child born to Heinrich and Anna Maria Ziegler.[2] The records of both the Lutheran and German Reformed Churches of Frederick show that it was a common practice for an uncle and his wife, or an aunt and her husband to stand sponsor for children at baptism. If this procedure was followed in this case, Catherine Hauer was probably the sister of Heinrich Ziegler. This deduction depends partly on the similarity of this name and the corrupt version, " Zealer." Incidentally, a " Zigler " family had arrived in Philadelphia on the same day as Hauer, although not on the same ship.[3] A Johann Heinrich Ziegler had

[7] Court House, Frederick, Liber TS no. 1, fol. 44.
[1] Abbot, p. 7.
[2] MS Records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick, transcription, Maryland Historical Society, II, 585.
[3] Strassburger, I, 574.

arrived in October, 1753.[4] There was a Heinrich Ziegler, possibly the same person, in Frederick in 1757.[5] Catherine Hauer probably predeceased her husband. We have found no trace of her for many years before his death, and she was not listed among his heirs.

The list of names of the Hauer children in Williams and McKinsey,[6] gives Henry, Daniel, Catharine, Elizabeth, Barbara, Margaret and Mary. From the church records, and from the list of heirs to Nicholas Hauer's estate,[7] we can establish a more correct list: Catherine, Jacob, Maria (Mary), Barbara, Daniel, Henry, George and Margaret, in order of age.

Nicholas Hauer had financial difficulties during the last years of his life. On September 3, 1794, a lot which he owned was sold for debt by the sheriff.[8] He died intestate in 1799.[9] For some years nothing seems to have been done about his estate. Then, in 1812, one James S. Hook applied for papers of administration in order to collect a debt of £463-0-7½ owed him by Hauer. The value of the Hauer property, which consisted mostly of slaves, was £613-0-7½, or $1,634.75. After Hook had collected his debt and paid expenses, the sum of £145-0-6 was distributed among the eight children or their heirs.[10]

An examination of the land records of Frederick shows that the Hauer, Frietschie and Handschuh families were neighbors, occupying lots 344, 346 and 345, respectively.[11] At first it appeared that the houses were on the north side of Second Street, some hundred twenty-five feet east of the intersection of Bentz Street, where the Methodist Church now stands. In the course

[4] *Ibid.*, 574.

[5] MS Records of the German Reformed Church of Frederick, transcription. Maryland Historical Society, I, 52.

[6] II, 1047.

[7] Court House, Frederick, Liber RB no. 3, fol. 94 and fol. 287.

[8] Court House, Frederick, Liber WR 12, fol. 548.

[9] MS Records of German Reformed Church, Frederick, transcription, I, 343. Family tradition says that Hauer died in Madison County, Kentucky, while visiting his daughter Maria, the wife of George Adams. There was a George Adams who played a prominent part in the political and judicial life of Madison County in the last years of the eighteenth century. We find no information about his wife, and no trace of Nicholas Hauer there. Maria Hauer's husband was unquestionably a George Adams (see note 10 below). She and her husband seem to have left Frederick, and there is no record of the burial in Frederick either of Nicholas Hauer or of George and Maria Adams.

[10] Court House, Frederick, Liber RB no. 3, fol. 94 and fol. 287.

[11] Plot of lots in Frederick, August 10, 1782, Office of the City Engineer, Frederick; also Surveyors' Notes, 1817-20.

of our investigation, we found that the house occupied by Barbara Frietschie at the time of her death, on the well-known Patrick Street site, was on lot number 346. A check at the office of the City Engineer showed that there were two sets of lots with these numbers, one on Second Street, the other on Patrick Street, the latter on property confiscated from Loyalists. No one seems to be able to explain this oversight. We checked the titles and deeds of the Frietschie property as far back as 1801,[12] and find that the error had been committed prior to that date, and apparently never discovered. It appears from records that Barbara Frietschie's house had at one time been the home of the Frietschie family, and had been acquired by Barbara's husband in 1811, when the other heirs sold their shares to him. The Hauers and Handschuhs were their nearest neighbors.

Barbara and her husband were slave-owners, as her family had been. John Caspar Frietschie provided in his will for the emancipation of one slave, and left him the house in which this servant had lived.

There has been considerable discussion about the spelling of the name Frietschie. We have found many forms in frequent use by the family and friends, and in church records. The variants include Frietschie, Frietchie, Fritchie, Fritchy, Fritchee, Fritchey, Freitchie, and Fridshey. The original German was probably Frietsche. The most common forms are Frietschie and Frietchie. In the interest of consistency, we decided on the former. The latter is, in our opinion, a late corruption, and would not have been used by a German-speaking person. This form has been seen more frequently since Barbara's death, perhaps because Whittier used this spelling. The last form written by Barbara herself seems to have been Fritchie. The deed to the cemetery plot acquired by her husband in 1849 read Fritchee.

APPENDIX IV

How Whittier Heard the Story

The story which suggested to Mr. Whittier his ballad of "Barbara Frietchie" came to him from Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth, of

[12] Court House, Frederick, Liber JWL no. 3, fol. 700; Liber WR no. 39, fol. 564; Liber JWLC no. 3, fol. 564.

Georgetown, D. C., the well-known novelist, whose acquaintance he made while he was corresponding editor of the "National Era." On the 21st of July, 1863, she wrote to him the following note: "I send this little note out merely in quest of you. If it should find you, please let me know your exact address, as I have a message to deliver you. You need only put your address in the inclosed envelope. When I get it I will write to you."

As soon as she obtained the address she sent the following narrative,[1] and the ballad founded upon it was written within a fortnight after its receipt in Amesbury:—

'When Lee's army occupied Frederick, the only Union flag displayed in the city was held from an attic window by Mrs. Barbara Frietchie, a widow lady, aged ninety-seven years.' Such was the paragraph that went the round of the Washington papers last September. Some time afterwards, from friends who were in Frederick at the time, I heard the whole story. It was the story of a woman's heroism, which, when heard, seemed as much to belong to you as a book picked up with your autograph on the fly leaf. So here it is: Barbara Frietchie was born in 1766; she was ten years old at the breaking out of the revolutionary war, and was fifteen years old at its close; therefore at the most susceptible period of her life she must have drawn in from that heroic epoch the ardent spirit of patriotism which inspired her act. When on the morning of the 6th of September, the advance of Lee's army, led by the formidable rebel general 'Stonewall' Jackson, entered Frederick, every Union flag was lowered, and the halliards cut; every store and every dwelling-house was closed; the inhabitants had retreated indoors; the streets were deserted, and, to quote the official report, 'the city wore a church-yard aspect.' But Mrs. Barbara Frietchie, taking one of the Union flags, went up to the top of her house, opened a garret window, and held it forth. The rebel army marched up the street, saw the flag; the order was given, 'Halt! Fire!' and a volley was discharged at the window from which it was displayed. The flag-staff was partly broken, so that the flag drooped; the old lady drew it in, broke off the fragment, and, taking the stump with the flag still attached to it in her hand, stretched herself as far out of the window as she could, held the stars and stripes at arm's length, waving over the rebels, and cried out in a voice of indignation and sorrow: 'Fire at this old head, then, boys; it is not more venerable than your flag.' They fired no more; they passed in silence and with downcast looks; and she secured the flag in its place, where it waved unmolested during the whole of the rebel occupation of the city. 'Stonewall' would not permit her to be troubled. The rebel army evacuated Frederick on the 11th, and our troops, under General Burnside, entered on the 12th. 'Then,' to quote the document again, 'flags of all sizes and from every conceivable place were displayed.' But as for the heroic old lady, she died

[1] Samuel T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston, 1899), II, 454-457. Reproduced by kind permission of the publishers, Houghton, Mifflin Company.

a few days after; some thought she died of joy at the presence of the Union army, and some that she died of excitement and fatigue from the 'lionization' she received; for those who could not emulate the old lady's courage did honor to her act.

This is the whole story, as Mr. Whittier had it when he wrote the ballad. Of the substantial accuracy of the narrative many convincing proofs came to him, from time to time, in the midst of the animated and prolonged controversy the ballad elicited. He never felt responsible for the details, although his verses, it will be seen, follow quite closely the version sent by Mrs. Southworth, who says she obtained the story from Mr. C. S. Bramsburg, a neighbor of hers and a connection of Barbara's. When he told it to Mrs. Southworth and her son Richmond, her son suggested that it would be a grand subject for a poem by Whittier, and upon that hint the story was forwarded to him. On the 8th of September 1863, Mr. Whittier wrote to Mrs. Southworth: "I heartily thank thee for thy kind letter and its inclosed message. It ought to have fallen into better hands, but I have just written out a little ballad of 'Barbara Frietchie,' which will appear in the next 'Atlantic.' If it is good for anything thee deserve all the credit of it."

Since the letters quoted by Pickard do not appear to be extant, and were probably burned,[2] it cannot be proven conclusively that they ever existed. The story does not depend on the reliability of Mrs. Southworth's statement, although she gave essentially this account to a reporter for the Washington *Evening Star* on September 8, 1892. More important than her testimony is the acceptance of this version by Samuel T. Pickard, Whittier's biographer, who was related to the poet and who had access to materials no longer extant. His plans for the biography were known to and discussed with Whittier. If Whittier had not wished to give Mrs. Southworth credit for the idea, Pickard would undoubtedly have been aware of his objections, especially since the question was a controversial one long before the death of the poet.

It has been stated[3] that the idea for the poem came from Dorothea Dix, Superintendent of Women Nurses for the U. S. Hospital Service during the Civil War. There is no evidence to support this.[4]

[2] Unfortunately, Whittier burned most of his correspondence, "from the fear that to leave them liable to publicity might be injurious or unpleasant to the writers or their friends." (*The Critic*, April 3, 1886, p. 75.)

[3] Washington *Evening Star*, September 12, 1892; Helen C. Marshall, *Forgotten Samaritan* (Chapel Hill, 1937). See Appendix V.

[4] The confusion leading to this claim will be discussed in Appendix V.

Mrs. Southworth apparently got the story from Mr. C. S. Ramsburg, a neighbor.[5] Mrs. Dall, reporting a version she had heard in Frederick, said that " a great nephew of John Caspar Frietschie had gone to Frederick on his bridal tour, and had attended his aunt's funeral. . . . "[6] He returned to Washington, and told his brother, a real estate agent in Georgetown, who in turn told Mrs. Southworth.

We have corroboration of a part of this story from the diary of Jacob Engelbrecht. He recorded on December 8, 1862, that " Mr Valerius Ramsburg and wife Amanda of Georgetown, D. C. arrived in our town on Thursday evening, December 4. They are on their wedding tour—having been to Philadelphia, New York and Boston . . . in our city they stay at his uncle's Mr Valerius Ebert." He records on Monday, December 22, 1862, that " they both left our town today in the 2 o'clock cars for home." We also have evidence from this diary of the existence of a C. S. Ramsburg of Georgetown. Sixteen years earlier, on January 18, 1847, Engelbrecht had written, " Cornelius Stilly Ramsburg came to pay us a visit from Georgetown. He tarried with us and with other relatives—he is about 7 years old."

John Caspar Frietschie mentioned Valerius Ebert in his will as a son of his deceased sister Rebecca (Mrs. John Ebert). He also mentioned her daughter, Ann Ramsburg. We may deduce from this and from Engelbrecht that Valerius Ramsburg and his brother Cornelius Stilly Ramsburg, were sons of Ann Ramsburg, and great nephews of John and Barbara Frietschie, as well as relatives of Valerius Ebert.

It is to be noted that Valerius Ramsburg stopped with his uncle Valerius, of Confederate sympathies, who always denied all knowledge of the story. Had Valerius Ramsburg got the story from him, it would doubtless have been a Confederate version. In this case, Mrs. Southworth would have had little sympathy for the tale and its bearers. It is more likely that Ramsburg got it from other people in Frederick.

Valerius Ramsburg and his wife could have attended the funeral on December 21, since they did not leave Frederick until the next day. It is curious that Engelbrecht did not mention their

[5] Washington *Evening Star*, September 8, 1892. Pickard says, " she obtained the information from Mr. C. S. Bramsburg (*sic*), a neighbor of hers and a connection of Barbara's."

[6] P. 7.

presence, since he himself was their relative, but the only people he does mention are the pall-bearers.

There has been only one serious effort to challenge the Southworth claim. It consists of a letter published in the Frederick *Daily News* on July 19, 1913, which read as follows:

Amesbury, Mass., July 11, 1892.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of recent date received and in reply: The inspiration came to me while I was waiting for the distribution of mail in the post-office at Amesburg (*sic*) and listened to an invalid soldier, who was wounded in the battle of the Monocacy.

He related the fact of the waving of the flag by a woman, her name he did not know.

I wrote to the postmaster of Frederick, Md. (William D. Jenks) asking him who dared the "Rebel host."

His reply was, "In all probability the heroine's name was Barbara Frietchie."

I have reconciled viz.: As I understand it, the soldier described the heroine as a young woman; Mr. Jenks, whom I took for authority described her as four score years and ten.

Hoping I have satisfied what you term curiosity, I am respectfully,

John G. Whittier.

We have been unable to find any copy of this letter except that published in the *Daily News*. The name of the person to whom the letter was addressed was not given. That the letter ever existed, or that it was written by Whittier, would be difficult to prove. Internal evidence weakens the case considerably, for the language is not that ordinarily appearing in Whittier's letters, and one of the errors, that of spelling Amesbury as Amesburg would be unlikely coming from a resident of the town.[7] Until the original of this letter is produced, or the testimony of a critical scholar as to its existence and authenticity is available, it cannot reasonably be used to refute the Southworth version.

APPENDIX V

Whittier's Belief in the Story

Pickard[1] has said that at the time of the publication of the ballad, "much was being said about the apocryphal nature of

[7] The editor of the newspaper has indicated that this is not a misprint by placing *sic* after Amesburg. The battle of the Monocacy occurred 1864.

[1] II, 457.

the stories . . . particularly about the 'Barbara Frietschie legend.'" According to him, Whittier replied to one of these criticisms as follows: "That there was a Dame Frietchie in Frederick who loved the old flag is not disputed by any one. As for the rest I do not feel responsible. If there was no such occurrence so much the worse for Frederick City."

If the authenticity of the story was being widely discussed, it is quite possible that Whittier may have made inquiries. Dorothea Dix wrote him about it in 1865, but we do not know whether she sent the information on her own initiative or whether she wrote in reply to an inquiry. Her letter, dated at Washington, January 12, 1865, begins:

Sir:

Lately being in Frederick City on Hospital Inspection, I learned some facts concerning "Barbara Frietchie" whose name is almost immortalized in your patriotic poem . . . and I obtained from a member of her family the *carte* [2] which I enclose, believing if you do not already possess it, you will be gratified to receive what is said by her friends to be a very excellent likeness. . . ."

The letter continues with comments on Barbara as a housekeeper, as a lover of children, and as a patriot, but says nothing about the details of the story.[3]

Whittier attributed much importance to this letter. In defending the authenticity of the story, he wrote, on December 18, 1884,[4] "I have no doubt of the substantial accuracy of the facts of the ballad of Barbara Frietchie. I had information from a lady in Washington at the time and from Dorothea Dix, and from a nephew of Barbara Frietchie." And on October 19, 1890, he wrote to a friend,[5] "I had a portrait of the good Lady Barbara from the saintly hand of Dorothea Dix and a cane from Barbara's cottage, sent me by Dr. Steiner of the Maryland Senate." It was doubtless these last two letters, and not that of Dorothea Dix to Whittier which were used by people who attribute the origin of the story to Dorothea Dix.[6] The date of her letter, 1865, is a year and a half after the poem appeared. We must

[2] Apparently one of Byerly's photographs of Barbara.
[3] John Albree, *Whittier Correspondence from the Oak Knoll Collections, 1830-1892* (Salem, Mass., 1911), pp. 152-3.
[4] F. L. Coolidge, *Magazine of History,* XVI (1913), p. 120.
[5] Pickard, II, 458.
[6] Cf. Helen Marshall, *Forgotten Samaritan* (Chapel Hill, 1937), pp. 24-27.

therefore use it as Whittier did, for purposes of corroboration only.

It has been repeatedly said that Whittier, late in life, admitted that he had been mistaken about the whole matter. Virgie Quantrell Browne [7] said in 1891 and 1892 that Whittier had written her several letters "expressing regret that he had given publicity to a false idea and robbed the true subject of justice." As far as we can discover, she never published or otherwise made public any of these letters. And as recently as 1923, the *Observer-Dispatch,* of Utica, N. Y., printed a story under the date-line, Athens, Ga., Feb. 3, reading in part as follows:

> Today in scores of communities the authenticity of John Greenleaf Whittier's poem is under attack. And now comes the United Daughters of the Confederacy with an official announcement that they can prove the monument to Frederick's heroine, at Frederick, Md., is a "monument to falsehood."
>
> Miss Mildred Rutherford of this city, State historian of the U. D. C., said today that she had gathered proof that the incident of the poem did not and could not have occurred.
>
> "I have in my possession a copy of a letter written by Whittier in 1892," she said today, "in which he acknowledged that he was mistaken in the name of the place where the incident took place and in the person mentioned. He says a soldier returning from the war told him about it. The soldier supposed that Frederick was the city. So Whittier wrote to the postmaster and asked for the name of the woman concerned in the flag waving.
>
> "The postmaster replied that he had never heard of the incident, but that if it took place that it sounded like Barbara Frietchie, who was a very patriotic woman. The name appealed to Whittier and upon that authority alone he wrote the poem."

We have attempted to trace this letter, but without success, since Miss Rutherford's papers were destroyed by fire some time ago. As far as we can determine, however, there is no evidence that Miss Rutherford had a manuscript letter, or knew that such a manuscript existed. In our opinion, Miss Rutherford was in possession of a clipping of the supposed Whittier letter of July 19, 1892, which was published in the Frederick *Daily News,* and which has been discussed in Appendix IV above.

We have found no authentic statement by Whittier to the effect that he was mistaken about the story of Barbara Frietschie. He was unquestionably aware of the criticisms made, and in the

[7] See Notes 109 and 110 above.

Riverside Edition of his works, published about three years before his death, he made a statement, the obvious purpose of which was to protect himself from such criticism. In an introductory note to the Barbara Frietschie ballad, he said,[8]

> This poem was written in strict conformity to the account of the incident as I had it from respectable and trustworthy sources. . . It has since been the subject of a good deal of conflicting testimony, and the story was probably incorrect in some of its details . . . when General Burnside's troops followed close upon Jackson's she waved her flag and cheered them. It is stated that May Quantrell, a brave and loyal lady in another part of the city, did wave her flag in the sight of the Confederates. It is possible that there has been a blending of the two incidents.

As far as we can learn, this is the nearest [9] Whittier ever came to admitting an error in his version of the story.

APPENDIX VI

Barbara Friestchie in German [1]

On July 4, 1865, this translation of the ballad appeared in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*. An introductory note explains that its publication is in honor of the American Independence Day, the first one after the close of the Civil War. The translator was Theodor S. Fay, then our Minister to Switzerland, and formerly Secretary of the Legation in Berlin.

Barbara Fritchie.

Frisch vom Septembermorgen umhaucht,
Aus goldenen Aehrenwogen taucht,
Umgrünt von den Hügeln Maryland's
Der Kirchthurm Frederick's im Sonnenglanz.
Obstgärten reihen sich rings umher,
Behängt mit Pfirsig und Aepfeln schwer.
Wahrlich ein Eden, sehnlich erheischt
Von Rebellenhorden, die Hunger zerfleischt.

[8] *Anti-slavery Poems: Songs of Labor and Reform* (Houghton, Mifflin, 1888), III, 245.

[9] Cf. Belknap, in Hartford (Conn.) *Times*, January 6, 1923; *Century*, X (September 1886), 783 ff. Henry Kyd Douglas, in *I Rode with Stonewall* (Chapel Hill, 1940), denied the Barbara Frietschie story completely (p. 151-2), and called attention to the fact that Whittier "held on to the fiction with such tenacity for years after, that he seemed to resent the truth about it."

[1] From a clipping in the Harvard University Library.

Wohl über den Bergwall kletterte Lee,—
Und der Morgen kommt und da sieht man sie
Zu Fuss und zu Ross in grauen Reih'n,
So rücken in Frederickstown sie hinein.
Früh am Morgen das Auge noch schweift
Ueber vierzig Flaggen besternt und bestreift,
Aber des Mittags Strahlen seh'n
Von vierzig Flaggen keine mehr weh'n.
Da Barbara Fritchie vom Lager sich regt,
Auf das volle neunzig Jahr sie gelegt,
Mit hohem Muthe die Flagge sie hisst
Die eingezogen von Männern ist.
Am Erkerfenster die Flagge sich bläht
Und Barbara Fritchie zur Seite ihr steht;
Rebellenhorden rücken heran
Ihr eiserne Stonewall-Jackson voran.
Unter dem Filzhut umher er blickt,
Und die Flagge stolz entgegen ihm nickt,—
„ Halt! " die gebräunte Schaar hält Stand—
„ Feuer! "—da zückt ein Blitz von der Hand.
Die Fenster splittern, die Kugelsaat
In den Stock der Flagge geschlagen hat,
Er bricht, doch ehe sie selber fällt,
Barbara Fritchie empor sie hält.
Weit aus dem Fenster gelehnet, fest,
Voll Muth das Banner sie flattern lässt:
„ Dies graue Haupt zerschmettert mir,
Doch schont des Vaterland's Panier! "—
Sie ruft's, und ein Zug von Scheu und Schaam
Ueber des Führer's Antlitz kam,
Und edlere Regung in's Herz ihm trat
Bei des neunzigjährigen Weibes That.
„ Wer die Greisin dort trifft," so ruft er barsch,
Stirbt wie ein Hund!—auf! vorwärts, marsch!—
Den ganzen Tag scholl Feindes Trab
Durch Frederick's Strassen wohl auf und ab.
Den ganzen Tag voll Majestät
Ob ihren Häuptern die Flagge weht:
Der Abend mit seinem letzten Glanz
Grüsst noch das Banner des Vaterlands!
Barbara's Haupt hat zur Rast sich geneigt,
Jetzt, wo kein Feind mehr im Land sich zeigt,—
Ehrt sie! Doch fall' eine Thrän' auch herab
Auf des Rebellen Stonewall's Grab.
Ueber Barbara Fritchie's Gruft
Rauscht unsre Flagge stolz durch die Luft,
Und wo man je von Heldinnen spricht,
Vergesset die alte Barbara nicht!

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Volume XXXVII, page 68)

[Among interesting topics included in the present installment, not least is the counsel given to young Charles Willson Peale, then in London, in the letter dated October 29th, 1767. Here is evident both the sound judgment and the generous instinct of the writer. According to Charles C. Sellers' biography, *Artist of the Revolution* (Hebron, Conn., 1939), the hat was once more passed in Peale's behalf, with the result that the sum of £30 was realized. Thanks to this timely aid, in which the Barrister participated as the letters show, Peale remained in London until March, 1769.—EDITOR.]

Gent

By the first of your Ships Coming in to Annapolis I Desire you will send me the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice and the Stone and Marble mentioned in mine of the 2^{d} July Last according to the Directions of the Letter and Plan Inclosed in it in Case the Cost be Reasonable as in the Letter mentioned.

I need not I hope Desire the Greatest Exactness in the Stone Cutter and Person of whom you Git the stone and marble as they must be sensible that the Least Deviation Mistake, or variance from the Plan Can not be Remedied here and must Render the whole that will be sent useless to me

Let all sent be Insured in such manner that in Case of Loss I may Draw my Principal and Charges

I am Gentlemen y^{r} M h^{ble} Servant

C. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
August 6th 1767
To Mess^{rs} Sedgley Hilhouse
and Randolph } ℔ Cap^{t} Richardson for London
Merch^{t} in Bristol } ℔ Capt. Spencer

Gentlemen

I shall ship you in your Vessel Called the Dolly (I do not Know whether she be a Ship or Brig) Captain Thomas Woodford

Twelve Tons of Pig Iron I Desire you will make Insurance for me on the Vessel now in West River there and thence to the Port of London that in Case of Loss I may Draw the Sum of Sixty pounds sterling Clear of Charges

I am Gentlemen your most H^ble^ serv^t^

Charles Carroll

Annapolis Maryland
Aug^t^ 16^th^ 1767
To Mess^rs^ Jorden and Maxwell Merch^ts^ in London
℔ Captain Frost and Richardson

Invoice of Goods sent in Closed in a Letter to Mess^rs^ Sedgley Hilhouse and Randolph Merchants in Bristol Dated the 6^th^ August 1767

4 20^m^ 10^d^ and 15^m^ 20^d^ nails
)(four Good S pipe Stock Locks at about 4/ Each
XX 6 Good S pipe Padlocks
50^lb^ Drop 50^lb^ Bristol and 10^lb^ Goose Shot
one small Smiths Anvil
one Small Ditto vice
one Small pair Smiths Belows
2 Dozen blue and white Check Handkerchiefs
2 pieces Dowlas
2 piece of Check Linen
1 piece Grey Fearnought
1 D^o^ Stript Duffils for Blankets
1 D^o^ Cloth Coloured Kersey with Trimmings
2 D^o^ blue Half thick
1 Dozen mens best Felt Hats
1 Dozen Ditto ordinary
1 Dozen mens Double worsted Caps
1 Dozen womens Large blue yarn Hose
6 pair mens Large Strong Coarse Thread Stockings for Servants
4 pair Small Boys Ditto
3 Best Garden Scythes

Sir/

I have Shipped you in your Ship the Melevia Captain Montgomerie Seven Tons Bar Iron and fourteen Tons of Pig I Desire that you will make Insurance for me on the said Vessell That in Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of one hundred and seventy five Pounds Clear of Charges

I shall have occasion to draw on you this year I believe for one hundred or one hundred and fifty Pounds to Clem^{t} Brook to Purchase Negroes on our Company Account besides the one hundred Pounds for our Annual Supply of Goods, Which Bills be pleased to pay when they Come to Hand

Send me with my other Goods one Bushel of Siberian Vetches one Bushel of the next Heardiest winter vetch, one Bushel of the Best summer Vetches, one Bushel of Burnet seed If you have not before this Reaches you spoke to any nursery man for the Fruit Trees I wrote for I would have you apply for them to Samuel Hewit in Brumpton near London who is Recomended to me as an honest man that has a Great Variety of the best fruit Trees

I am Sir your Most H^{ble} Servant

C Carroll

Maryland Septem^{r} 10th 1767
To M^{r} William Anderson
Merchant in London

Sep^{t} 23^{d} ℔ Captain George Buchanan
30 ℔ Captain Reade

Mr. Peale

It was a Pleasure to me to find by yours of the 17th March last that you were in a way of Acquiring some Improvement in your Profession but I was a Little surprized to her from M^{r}. Anderson that you had thoughts of Leaving England to sail for Maryland the November following the Dates of your letters as I supposed you would make your stay in England as Long as Possible to Git all the Insight you Could and as I Calculated the Assistance you Carried from Hence would enable you to make a Longer stay but I hope both M^{r}. Anderson and myself were mistaken and that you have Conducted yourself with that Prudence and Frugality that you will not have occasion to hurry away before you have in some measure attained the Ends for which you went. You are to Consider that you will never be able to make up to your self and family the Loss of the opportunity and that those by whom you have been Assisted will be sorry to find their money Thrown away but I hope as I before said that I have been mistaken and

those hints are unnecessary. I have wrote to Mr. Anderson and left it to his Descretion in Case he should judge you Deserving to advance you Eight or Ten Guineas more on my Account.

I observe your Inclination Leads you much to Painting in miniature I would have you Consider whether that may be so advantageous to you here or whether it may suit so much with the Taste of the People with us as Larger Portrait Painting which I think would be a Branch of the Profession that would Turn out to Greater Profit here you Likewise mention the Copying of Good Painting by which I suppose you mean the Study of History Painting. This I look upon as the most Difficult Part of the Profession and Requires the utmost Genius in the artist few arrive at a High Point of Perfection in it and indeed in this Part of the World few have a Taste for it and very few Can go thro' the Expence of Giving that Encouragement that such an artist would Desire but after all Consult and be guided by the best of your own Genius and Study that Branch to which your Disposition Leads you and that you Judge most suitable to your Talents you had better be a Good Painter in Miniature than an Indifferent one in Either of the other Branches and be Assured that what I have above wrote and mentioned Proceeds from my Desire of your welfare As I am

Your Friend and Servant

Cha. Carroll [1]

Annapolis October 29th 1767
To Mr. Charles Wilson Peale
to the Care of Mr. Wm. Anderson

℔ Captain Montgomerie
and Banning.

Gent/

I have just now the Pleasure of yours by Captain McLachlan but have not as yet Received My Goods and Inclosed I send you Bills Lading for my Iron in Coxen and Montgomerie,

I Did not mention in my letter to you for the Goods I wrote for

[1] This letter was quoted in these pages by Dr. W. Stull Holt in "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man" (Vol. XXXI, p. 125). It is now reprinted to preserve its place in the context. Part of the letter has also appeared in Sellers' biography of Peale, p. 84-85.

this year to make Insurance on them be pleased to do it, And tho' I should omit to write for Insurance when I write for Goods always make it. The Burnet Seed I write for must be of the kind they Call Rocques Burnet which is the best in standing the winter be pleased to Give your seedsman Particular Directions about it. I Desire it with all the seed I write for may be Fresh and Put in a Dry place in the Ship. M^r^ Bordley had some in this year from you Either so old or so Damaged in the Ship that it will not Come up this. Besides the Loss is a Great Disappointment to us Experiment making Farmers.

You wrote me that young Peale thought of Leaving England this next November I am sure he went from hence with orders for Cash that would have in my opinion Enabled him with Good Management to have staid at Least two years in England and I hope he has not misbehaved and if so I leave it to your Discretion if you think him Deserving of it and it will help him to make out his stay to full two years to advance him farther on my account Eight or Ten Guineas and no more I have wrote to him to your Care and shall be obliged if you will send the Letter My wife still Complains that her shoe maker my Good master Hose Deals very heedlesly by her Pray make my Compliments to him and Desire him to Regard Particularly the Directions and measures herein Inclosed about the shoes wrote for by Love for her Else tell him I shall by the next opportunity send him Myself a Tickler. My Compliments Likewise in a Particular manner to the Good Knight Alderman and Grocer S^r^ Thomas Rawlinson and Let him Know that Imposing upon a man is by no means a Deed of Chivalry if he Does not mend his manners tell him and send me Better Tea I shall think the Touch of his Majestys Sword has no more Virtue than the Imposition of Hands of a Bishop it Gives only a Little Pride and Leaves the morals and Principles of a man just where it found them.

My wife joins me in a Tender of our Kindest Compliments to all with you

I am Dear Sir your M h^ble^ serv^t^

Charles Carroll

Annapolis October
29^th^ 1767

To Mess^rs^ William and
James Anderson
Merchants in London

P. S. Direct your Book seller to send me In the Monthly Review for this year 1767 as those he sent me Come to December 1766, and to send me the Volum Every year to Continue my set.

November 7th 1767 ℔ Captain Montgomerie
℔ Captain Banning

Annapolis Novemr 17th 1767

Gent/

Please to Direct your Book Seller to send me in the Spiritual and Temporal Liberty of Subjects in England in two Parts by Anthony Ellis Late Bishop of St Davids 4to: Whiston Bound and and the History of the Minority during the years 1762-63-64 and 1765 sewed

Your Hble Servant
C. Carroll

To Messrs William and James Anderson Merchants in London

℔ Captain Davis
December 5th 1767 ℔ Captain Bailey

Gent/

I have the Pleasure of yrs of the 27 February Last & Recd safe by the sloop Potts the Pipe of Madeira sent by Her to me the Flavor of it I Like very well shall be a Better Judge of it two or three years Hence & Have Laid it by for about that Time Be Pleased to send me in by Capt Read a Pipe of the same Prime Kind for my own use for the Cost of wh Be Pleased to Draw on Messrs William & James Anderson Merchts in London & send with yr Bill the Inclosed Letter Shall be obliged if in yr next you will Let me Know whereabouts the Best Malmsey Comes pr Hhd or pr Cask & whether a Little of it will not mix well with & Improve the Madeira Table wine & about what Quantity to the Pipe

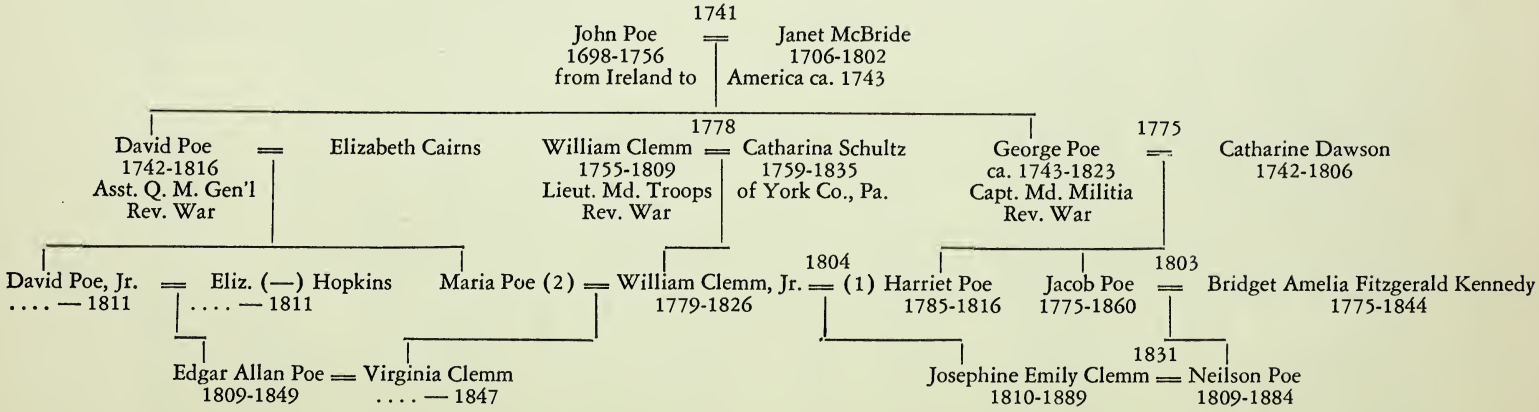
I am Gent Yr Mo Hble Servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland
Decr 7, 1767
To Messrs Scott Pringle Cheap & Co.
Merchts Madeira ℔ Capt. Reed

POE CHART

By Francis Barnum Culver



LINEAGE OF EDGAR ALLAN POE

AND

The Complex Pattern of the Family Genealogy

By Francis Barnum Culver

The name Poe is a nickname. It came from the Anglo-Saxon *pawa*, old Norse *pa*, Latin *pavo*, "peacock." Middle English forms include *paw*, *pay*, *po*, etc. "As proud as a po" is preserved in an old English political song.

The Poe family of Maryland had an Irish provenance. Edgar Allan Poe, great-grandson of John Poe who came to America about 1743, was born in Boston, Mass., in 1809 and died in Baltimore, Md., at the age of forty years. During his nonage, he lived in Virginia. At the age of twenty-one his benefactor, Mr. John Allan of Richmond, procured for him a cadetship at the West Point, N. Y., Military Academy where he remained for a very brief period. He resided for a time in New York City and in Philadelphia, subsequently removing to Fordham, N. Y. His young cousin-wife Virginia (née Clemm) died in 1847. Edgar Allan Poe spent the summer of 1849 at Richmond, Va. He died, during a visit to Baltimore, on 7 Oct. 1849 and his remains are interred in the burial grounds of Westminster Presbyterian Church, an old cemetery belonging to the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore.

Neilson Poe, a second cousin to Edgar Allan Poe, was born in Maryland, in the same year as the poet. He occupied a prominent place at the Maryland Bar. He, likewise, was devoted to literature and his life was characterized by "public spirit, courage, intellectual vigor, force and skill as a writer, and strength and fervor as a speaker." He befriended his unfortunate relative, the poet, in the latter's fatal illness and was with him to the end. Neilson Poe was the father of the illustrious John Prentiss Poe, Esq., of Baltimore. The latter had six sons, each of whom in turn entered Princeton University, where they became famous as outstanding members of the "Varsity" football teams. It was remarked that as soon as one of the brothers was graduated, another arrived to take his place on the Princeton team; which gave a foundation to

the story that their father "was under contract to supply Poes for Princeton."

Edgar Allan Poe married his first cousin, Virginia Clemm. His second cousin, Neilson Poe, married Josephine Emily Clemm who was a half-sister of Virginia Clemm. The father of these two sisters, William Clemm, Jr., married (1) Harriet Poe, mother of Josephine Clemm and aunt of Neilson Poe. William Clemm, Jr., married (2) Maria Poe, mother of Virginia Clemm, step-mother of Josephine Clemm and aunt of the poet. The father of Edgar Allan Poe, David Poe, Jr., was cousin-germane to Jacob Poe, father of Neilson Poe. This is all very perplexing, of course, and only a diagram will serve to clarify the puzzle (see chart on page 420).

FAMILY OF WILLIAM FARIS (1728-1804)

The Annapolis Silversmith [1]

By Lockwood Barr

Having been reared in Philadelphia where he served an apprenticeship as a watch and clockmaker and silversmith, William Faris sometime before 1757 settled in Annapolis and worked at his trade until his death August 5, 1804.

William Faris on March 29, 1761, married Priscilla Woodward, the daughter of Abraham Woodward and Priscilla Ruley, of Anne Arundel County. Their children, all born in Annapolis, were:

1. A son unnamed	b. Jan. 3, 1762	d. ————	infant
2. William	b. Dec. 5, 1762	d. ————	m. Kesiah Hoskins
3. Charles	b. Sep. 29, 1764	d. Sep. 1, 1800	bachelor
4. Rebecca (I)	b. Nov. 29, 1765	d. Oct. 14, 1768	infant
5. Hyram	b. Jan. 18, 1769	d. Aug. 30, 1800	bachelor
6. St. John	b. Dec. 27, 1770	d. July 27, 1796	bachelor
7. Ann	b. May 9, 1773	d. Mch. 17, 1860	m. Capt. Wm. Pitt
8. Abigail	b. Mch. 10, 1775	d. ————	m. Capt. Arch. Kerr
9. Rebecca (II)	b. Dec. 11, 1778	d. Aug. 19, 1800	not married

William Faris died intestate in 1804. His mantle was inherited by his principal apprentice, William McParlin,[2] who took over the business and conducted it until his death in 1850. McParlin purchased the Faris home at 25-27 West Street. This property Faris had taken over from the estate of Philip Syng, the Annapolis silversmith who resided there until his death in 1738.

William McParlin married Cassandra Hillary Beall Woodward, a niece of Mrs. Faris who made her home with the McParlins until her death on March 14, 1817, aged seventy-eight years.

The relations of William Faris to his offspring, his critical attitude towards his sons with whom he constantly quarrelled, his adoration of his daughters, particularly Ann, and the reaction of these children to their parent, shed light upon this strange and fascinating man from an angle not to be gained from other sources. We know what his children did and a little of what they

[1] See *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Dec. 1941), pp. 420-439, for a brief biography of William Faris by Lockwood Barr, whose wife, Berenice Owens, is a descendant through Ann Faris and Capt. William Pitt.

[2] A brief biography of William McParlin appears in *Maryland Silversmiths* by J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 60-61.

said. That is in his Diary.[3] He carefully recorded their faults and virtues.

William Faris, Jr. (2), was born in Annapolis on December 5, 1762. The date and place of his death have not been found. Like his brothers, he served his apprenticeship at clockmaking under his father; and like his brothers, he quarreled with his father and left home.

There is no positive evidence that he was in the Army during the Revolution, but he was old enough to have served a short period at the close of the War. The first definite reference to him was in 1790 when he was twenty-eight years old. He was then in Norfolk, Virginia. That reference is in the poem, "The Will of William Faris," by Charlotte Hesselius.

> . . . My Buckels and Cane to my son William I give
> And no more, because he's got substance to live,
> His road I took care in his youth to instruct him
> Tho' I say it myself, a princess might trust him.
> The dog grew ungrateful, set up for himself,
> And at Norfolk, they say, he has plenty of pelf.
> Since he's gone away it will be best for his brothers. . . .[4]

The records at Norfolk do not make any reference to William Jr. nor to his activities in that place, but presumably he was following his trade. The following entries in the Diary of William Faris tell their own story of his wanderings.

1793. Jan. 7. This evening a Capt. Sinnett come heare and told me he saw my son William in the Havannahs and that he was well and was doing very well, that he had altered a grate deal for the better about 2 mos. ago.

1793. May 1. Received a letter from my son William dated Havannah, March 24th.

1797. Jan. 8. In the Evening I saw Capt. Farling at Mr. Randals who told me he saw my son William at Jackomel in the Island of [illegible. There is a seaport named Jackmel in Haiti].

1800. Nov. 3. Received a letter from my son Wm. in Edenton, North Carolinya, Directed to Mr. Wm. Pitt.

1801. Feb. 11. this Afternoon a young man by the name of Nathl.

[3] "Extracts from Diary of William Faris," appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Sept. 1933), pp. 197-244. The original Diary is in possession of Sumner A. Parker of Baltimore, a direct descendant.

[4] Printed in Pleasants and Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths, 1715-1830* (Baltimore, 1930).

Smith called heare to let me know that he was just from Edenton, North Carolina, that he was Acquainted with my son William, thay Boarded in the same house together, and he tells me that my son has been in Edenton upwards of two years past & that he has 40 or 50 Watches in his Window.

After 1801, Faris lost contact with his son William, as there are no further references to him in the Diary.

In the October, 1799, term of court at Edenton, William Faris witnessed a will that was probated. On December 11, 1803, there was recorded in the Court House there the marriage bond of a William Faris and Kesiah (Hoskins) O'Neill, a widow. In 1786 Kesiah Hoskins had married Peter O'Neill, whose will was probated in Chowan County, North Carolina, May 19, 1803. It mentions his wife Kesiah, his daughters Katherine and Elender, and sons Charles and Tully. No record of these children has been discovered. The date of birth of Kesiah cannot be found. Search has failed to discover even the date and place of her death. At the time of his marriage William, Jr., was forty-one years old. No reference to children by this marriage of Kesiah and William has been discovered. No silver made by William Faris Jr. has been found and no clocks have been attributed to him. Apparently he was primarily a watchmaker and jeweler.

Charles Faris (3) was born September 29, 1764. He died a bachelor on September 1, 1800, aged thirty-six years. Charles served his apprenticeship in his father's shop.

He became one of the leading silversmiths of Maryland during his brief career and his silver is the work of a master craftsman and artist. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York there is an exquisite silver service by him, consisting of a tall graceful coffee pot, a creamer and a sugar bowl. His touchmark was C^{s} Faris. In the *Maryland Gazette,* May 26, 1796, appeared this advertisement:

Charles Faris
Clock and Watchmaker
Annapolis

Has received an assortment of gold and silver warranted watches, gold, gilt and steel watch chaines, and Seals, plated Castors, Candlesticks and Salts, with many other articles in his line, which he will sell Low for Cash.

Charles Faris and his father were quarreling continually, and

in the Diary there are many references to their disagreements. Evidently he worked in his father's shop until 1793 when there is an entry in the Diary to the effect that Charles had opened his own shop. He continued to live in the family home, however, until 1797 when he departed because of a squabble.

1797. June 4. Sunday. since last Wednesday Charles has left off Breakfasting here—he comes to Dinner & when he comes mumbles out something like, how do you do papa, in a manner that appears to me that he would Rather not speak at all, today at Diner Charles took it into his Head to get up in a pet without Eating his Diner, when he came in he never spoke a word to me—nor I to him—

1797. Sep. 10. Charles Faris came heare this morning & asked me how I did, I Reply'd to him and asked him if he spoke to his Brother and had made up with him, he said he was willing to make up with Hyram if so he would speak to him, I said not till then, he said no, I told him he ought and that I expected that he would, for to my certain knowledge he was very much in the Rong and that he had Use Hyram very Ill and that if he did not speake to him, that I would never speake to him more. Hah! says he, I am not the first son you have turned out of Doors and that I had never done anything for him—and it appears to me from his present and former Conduct to me for 12 months Past that he has been Wanting to Quarrel with me. He took up his hat and went off.

1797. Sep. 24. I told Mrs. Faris to tell *her son* Charles that if he did not comply with my Request that he should not have the Washing done here any longer.

In 1800 fever swept Annapolis and Baltimore and by summer it was an epidemic. William Faris nearly died himself and lost three of his children—Rebececa on Aug. 19th, Hyram on Aug. 30th and Charles on Sept. 1st. These entries from the Diary tell part of that tragedy.

1800. Aug. 24. I am very Unwell—am afraid Charles is going to be sick.

1800. Aug. 28. Charles is very weak and low this afternoon he got up and walked 3 or 4 steps to a chair and fainted.

1800. Aug. 31. Poor Charles is much worse to Day, so much so that the Doctrs has no hopes of his Recovery but while thare is life thare is hopes.

1800. Sept. 1. About 2 o'clock this morning my son Charles Faris died of Yellow Fever in 36 year of his age.

Hyram Faris (5) was born January 18, 1769. He died a bachelor on August 30, 1800, aged thirty-one. Like his brothers, he grew up in his father's shop and became a skilled workman.

In the *Maryland Gazette*, issue of September 12, 1793, there appeared the announcement of Hyram Faris who styled himself watch- and clock-maker, Church Street, Annapolis, informing the public that he had opened a shop next door below Mr. Nicholas Brewer and directly opposite the General Court Office, where he carried on the above business in all its branches and likewise carried on silversmith and jewelry business. No silver bearing his mark, however, has been found.

In the book of shop designs of William Faris, now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, there is a beautiful design for a painted tall clock face on which is inscribed "Hyram Faris." These shop designs are reproduced in *Maryland Silversmiths.* Hyram was quite a painter, and there is a miniature on ivory of Capt. St. John Faris, the sea captain, which is attributed to Hyram.

In her poem, "The Will of William Faris," Charlotte Hesselius has this to say about Hyram:

> . . . all the tools in my shop to said Hyam I give
> And, if he minds work, he'll make out to live.
> My coat, which I turned, is a very good brown
> And may serve many years to parade in the town.
> 'Twill be good as ever if he takes my advice,
> And the buttons of silver will make it look nice,
> The place in the back which is greased by my club
> Would come out if he'd take good care to rub
> It with soap and with brush or good spirits of wine
> Which will freshen the cloth and make it look fine.
> The coat he must wear with my corduroy breeches
> When Abbey has given them a few odd little stitches.
> And Ab' will be kind, I know, to her brother,
> Because he's the favorite of me and his mother.
> A pair of silk hose I had when a boy
> Intend shall be his: 'twill give him much joy.
> To own these said hose he has begged for so often
> But they ne'er shall be his till I'm safe in my coffin.

Most of what is known of Hyram is disclosed in the entries in the Diary, some of which are quoted:

1793. Dec. 21. Hyram sett off *to walk to Baltimore* this morning at 10 oclock to see his Brother St. John and to Endeavour to Stop him from going the Voyage to Amsterdam on acc't of the Algereans.

1793. Dec. 24. Hyram expects to sail to Morrocco and intends wright-

ing to me from the Capes. He laughs about the Algereens. [Where he went or what he did on this voyage is not recorded.]

1794. Sep. 16. Lieutenant Davidson brought Hyram's substitute [in the militia] and I paid him 35 Dollar.

1795. Nov. 23. this afternoon Hyram show'd me a letter wrought by Governor Stone Recommending him to the President—requesting he would appoint Hyram an office in the Mareen Service.

1795. Nov. 29. Hyram apply'd to Mr. George Dent & he has given him a Letter of Recommendation to the Secretary of War for a Lieutenants Commission in the Mareen Service.

1799. Mch. 20. After Braekfast Hyram went down to Charles' Shop.

1799. Apr. 2. this afternoon Hyram's moved his Chest away from my House to where I don't know.

1799. Apr. 4. this morning Hyram came heare to bid the family fare Well, he's going to Baltimore. He bid his mother & sisters farewell, he came to me, I asked him if he was going to leave he answered yes, I then told him he might go where he pleased, I had nothing to say to him, he went off.

1799. Apr. 5. I am informed that Hyram went off for Baltimore, in some Boat to Day, he has not been near since yesterday morning.

1800. May 11. Hyram came Home from Baltimore in the Packett.

1800. June 6. Between 8 & 9 oclock my Ungrateful Son Hyram left me to go to Baltimore and I never Expect to see him More.

1800. Aug. 28. Nancy Received a letter from her Brother Hyram dated the 26th, he says that he shall go on Board in 4 or 5 Hours the Ship Commerce—Capt. Tompson[?] to Amsterdam. [Apparently he did not go on that journey—note the next entry.]

1800. Aug. 30. Hyram died of yellow fever.

St. John Faris (6) was born on December 27, 1773. He took to the sea as a lad, and at the early age of twenty-one was an officer on sailing vessels in the trans-Atlantic trade out of Baltimore. He died a tragic death at sea on July 27, 1796, aged twenty-three years, on his vessel the *Hebe* of Baltimore, of which he was captain. Yellow fever broke out on his boat and most of the crew and passengers were ill and many died. Capt Faris was a bachelor.

Capt. Faris was the favorite son of the "Old Man" who was always bursting with pride at the accomplishments of his seafaring son. His arrivals and departures were faithfully chronicled in the Diary.

1793. May 5. A letter from my son Saint. He is well. He left Liverpool the 7th March and arrived at Baltimore the 2nd of May (nearly

two months). He sent his Mother Yarn and Mrs. Stevens's Silk he carried to be Died.

1793. Dec. 3. Tuesday morning got up Earley & went down to the point to see my son St. Braekfast'd with him where he boards and after braekfast went to see Capt. Francis DeCross in a large 3 Decked ship called the Gift of God of Bordux—but last from St. Domino.

1794. July 22. This morning about 8 o'clock Saint sett off for Baltimore in the Stage in Company with Mr. Angel the printer—to take the Snow Commerce as Captain. [James Angell was one of the proprietors of the *Maryland Journal* of Baltimore.]

1794. Oct. 22. Capt. St. John Faris sett off—to go to St .Michels on the Eastern Shore to take Charge of his new ship.

1794. Nov. 8. in the evening I receiv'd a letter from my son Capt. Faris, his ship is called the Hebe.

1795. Jan. 1. Capt. St. John Faris came home from Baltimore his ship at anker in the Bay Bound to Croney in Spain, then to St. Jubes, from there to Lisbon, then to Petersburgh in Russia.

1795. Nov. 20. A letter from Capt. Faris, he arrived in Baltimore yesterday, had a passage of 60 Days from Hamburg to Fell's Point.

1796. Jan. 21. about 10 o'clock Capt. St. John Faris went on board in Capt. Thomas's Boat and by 11 o'clock was under way bound to Amsterdam.

And here William Faris records in his Diary real tragedy.

1796. Aug. 19. Arrived at New York the Ship Atalanta Capt. Holbrook's Log Book, Aug. 5th, saw a ship haveing a Signal of Disress, we hoisted out our yawl and Went on Bord, she proved to be the Hebe of Baltimore, which sailed from Amsterdam May 7th under the Command of St. John Faris with 23 passengers bound to Baltimore. When they had been a few weeks at sea a number of them were attacked with a contageous Destemper of which Capt. Died in a few days. at the time we boarded her there was 7 dead, the first and second mate and many of the passengers confined to their berths and only 3 hands left capable of working the Vessel. They had lost by sickness upwards of 100 persons.

1796. Wednesday Aug. 24. in the Tuesday paper I see a further acct. of my Poor Son [St. John], it's from the Same Vessel, Capt. Rich'd Holbrook who says Capt. Faris was taken sick the 20th of July and Died on the 27th.

Ann Faris (7) was born on May 9, 1773, in Annapolis. She died on March 17, 1860, aged 67 years, in Baltimore. Ann married Capt. William Pitt, a prosperous and successful ship-owner and operator of a line of pilot vessels. Capt. Pitt was born on January 14, 1768, and ided on December 29, 1848, aged 80 years.

He was the son of Capt. John Pitt of Baltimore, also ship-owner and sea captain.

Here are two entries from the Diary about "Nancy," as her father called her:

1796. June 19. this morning Mr. Pitt Brackfasted with us and after Brackfast he asked mine and Mrs. Faris's consent for our Daughter Nancy, neither of us had any objection to him therefore I suppose it will not be long before they are married.

1796. Thursday July 7. this Evening Wm. Pitt was married to my Daughter Nancy by Parson Higgenbottom. Present Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. Golder & Miss Ackmead, Mr. Whitcroft, Mr. McMyers & Capt. Gardner.

Capt. William Pitt was a widower, having first married Hannah Williams on January 29, 1795. She died a bride and was buried September 27, 1795. To Capt. Pitt and Ann Faris were born nine or more children, as follows:

1.	Priscilla Ann	b. Mar. 13, 1797	d. July 17, 1798
2.	Rebecca Maria	b. June 7, 1798	d. Jan. 1, 1834
3.	Hannah Williams	b. Jan. 16, 1800	d. July 23, 1837
4.	William Faris	b. Dec. 11, 1801	d. Oct. 18, 1821
5.	John Charles	b. Aug. 2, 1803	d. June 16, 1876
6.	Joseph Henry	b. July 12, 1805	d. Sept. 3, 1822
7.	Charles Faris	b. Feb. 7, 1808	d. Apr. 8, 1887
8.	Priscilla Eliza	b. Dec. 8, 1809	———
9.	Eliza	b. July 4, 1812	d. July 13, 1802

A portrait of Rebecca Maria Pitt, credited to Eichholtz, is owned by Mrs. Charles T. Maxwell, Sioux City, Iowa, a descendant; and a companion portrait of John George Chappell, her husband, is owned by Miss Sallie L. Chappell, a descendant, of Washington, D. C. A portrait of Mrs. Ann Faris Pitt with her infant daughter, Hannah Williams, is owned by Miss Marion McP. Abrahams, of Baltimore, a descendant through Hannah Williams Pitt.

Charlotte Hesselius gives us this thumb-nail sketch of Ann:

> . . . To Nancy, the darling of me and my wife,
> I give and bequeath the spinnet for life
> Once I thought she would play with the help of a master
> But, it grieves me to say, she learned not a bit faster,
> Harry Woodcock I trusted to teach her to play,
> But I soon found 'twas money and time thrown away;
> So she did what was right, made me save all my pelf,
> And picked out a tune here and there by herself.

Through Ann Faris and Capt. William Pitt there have been many descendants. A record has been compiled of several of the families which stem from Ann, and their offspring down to the present generation. A copy of this record has been filed with the Maryland Historical Society.

Rebecca Maria Pitt on July 17, 1817, married John George Chappell of Baltimore. They had a number of children, among them being William Pitt Chappell, the grandfather of Berenice Owens, of Pelham Manor, New York, wife of the author.

Priscilla Eliza Pitt, upon the death of her sister, Rebecca Maria, married her brother-in-law, Chappell, and they had a number of children.

Hannah Williams Pitt on February 17, 1820, married Frederick Littig, who subsequently added Shaffer to his name. They had eight or more children. Upon her death in 1837, Frederick Littig Shaffer married Catherine Ann Smythe, daughter of Capt. James Smythe, of St. Mary's, Georgia, and they had eight or more children. Capt. Smythe was the great-great-grandfather of Berenice Owens.

Of William Faris Pitt, John Charles Pitt and Joseph Henry Pitt there is no record of descendants. Charles Faris Pitt married Catherine Chappell, sister of John George Chappell. Their descendants include Miss Sophie Pitt and the late Faris C. Pitt, of Baltimore.

Abigail Faris (8) was born on March 10, 1775, in Annapolis. The date of her death has not been found, but it was before 1836 since she is not mentioned in the will of her husband written in that year. On January 21, 1802, at the age of twenty-seven years, she married Capt. Archibald Kerr, of Baltimore, a sea captain and ship-owner, who before his marriage had spent much of his time on business in Annapolis where he was a frequenter of the tavern of Faris. The marriage is recorded by William Faris in his Diary as follows:

> 1802. Jan. 21st. Thursday, in the Evening my Daughter Abigail was married to Capt. Archd Kerr by Mr. Ralph Higgenbotham, present Mr. Stevens & wife, Miss Ranken, Mrs. Brice, Mrs. Randel, Nancy & Polly Harwood, the 2 Miss Owens, Mr. Thos. Harwood & 3 Gentlemen from Baltimore, Capt. Philip Grabell, Mr. Ruben Ettings, Ludwell Taylor.

The Diary records that on November 16, 1803, there was born " a fine Boy & that thay are all well and harty."

1804. April 11. Abee & nurse a[nd] littel Allexr. & Charrity went off in the Packet to Baltimore. [This child was christened Archibald but called Alexander in his infancy].

The children of Abigail Faris and Archibald Kerr compiled from his will, the Diary and other sources were:

1.	Archibald, Jr.	b. Nov. 16 1803	d. before 1836
2.	Charrity (?)	m. William Patterson	
3.	Georgiana	m. Henry Donnell Hunter	
4.	Isabella	m. William H. Steuart	
5.	Washington	b.	d. 1832

The grandchildren were Archibald Kerr, son of Archibald, Jr.; George and Henry, sons of William Patterson. Capt Kerr's will is dated November 21, 1836, and filed May 6, 1839.

The Baltimore City Directories for 1802 and 1803 list Capt. Archibald Kerr, Mariner, on Alisann, now Aliceanna, Street, Fells Point. In 1807 and 1808, he was at 47 Fells Street, where in 1810 he operated a rope store. In later directories he was at various addresses in Fells Point.

BOOK REVIEWS

Archives of Maryland, LVIII: *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1762-1763* (27). Published by Authority of the State under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. J. Hall Pleasants, Editor. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1941. Pp. i-lxxix, 1-614. $3.

This stout volume, the twenty-seventh in the printed series containing the Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, brings us, one may guess, within two or three volumes of the end of the record of the Maryland provincial legislature. It brings us to the climax of the political and constitutional struggles of the French and Indian war period between the House of Delegates on the one hand, and the governor, council, and lord proprietor on the other. The next period of assembly struggle, ending in the final provincial session in 1774, and in the dissolution of proprietary government, was to produce new variants in the contest between the "country party" and the "court party," particularly the officers' fee and the vestry struggles of the early seventies; but the eve of the Revolution itself was to evoke no more irreconcilable political attitudes and claims than those which appear in the assembly messages in this volume.

The provincials' own choice of their strongest arguments are to be found in the messages of April, 1762, in which the lower house urged, and the upper house rejected, a military supply bill which would have taxed the income and curtailed the executive authority of the lord proprietor and his officials, and would have expanded the power and prestige of the House of Delegates. By a wise editorial choice, this volume reprints in an appendix the 1762 supply bill: it was printed in pamphlet form in 1762 as a sort of political platform for the "country party," and the important messages, giving the principal arguments for and against the bill, were printed with it. Thus the volume becomes something larger (and better) than what it sets out to be, a mere record of the day-by-day achievements of the legislature. This pamphlet takes assembly business outside assembly doors; it suggests to the student the pre-democratic beginnings of public opinion and public influence in Maryland affairs. In the American colonies, as in the mother country, the increasing rôle of the printing press is too often overlooked in the story of politics and institutions.

There is much else besides the movement for self-government in the pages of this volume. Does an historical investigator wish to write the history of pre-Revolutionary nationalism? Let him study the proposals for establishing a Maryland college; and let him link those proposals not only with the tensions of Maryland politics but also with the increase of higher education in the other colonies during the mid-eighteenth century. Does he wish to study trade? Or religion, including the ugly war-time phenomenon of anti-Catholicism? Is he interested in the growth of towns? In the relationship of local government—county courts and parishes—to provincial government? Here are materials for such investigations.

The scholars and officials who have brought out this volume have maintained Maryland's tradition of excellence and completeness in the publication of colonial records. It is now the responsibility of independent scholars to use the record with the same fidelity, the same inclusive and critical spirit, as has gone into the preparation of the text.

CHARLES A. BARKER

Stanford University

Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1940-1941. Edited by NEWMAN F. MCGIRR. Washington, D. C.: The Society, 1942. viii, 309 pp.

The Columbia Society's new volume contains addresses made at Society meetings, supplemented by papers embodying research by Society members. Mr. Allen C. Clark, president of the Society, is author of an interesting sketch of the career of Captain James Barry, merchant at Baltimore and Washington. Barry's portrait accompanies the article. After mercantile experience in London, Bombay, and Lisbon, the captain came to Baltimore in 1793. He made wharf improvements at Fell's Point and engaged in mercantile business. He had married a Portuguese wife in Lisbon, and in Baltimore he held the office of Portuguese consul. With the removal of the seat of government to Washington in 1800 that city seemed likely to become a great trade center. Barry planned a mercantile career there and removed from Baltimore in 1800, but the expected opportunities did not develop. He then went to New York in 1805 and died there in 1808, being then consul-general for Portugal. Barry's home in Washington was razed only recently. Another paper by Mr. Clark relates the causes leading up to the Barron-Decatur duel in 1820, and gives a detailed account of the duel fought at Bladensburgh, on Maryland soil.

George Magruder Battey reviews some parts of the colorful career of Maryland's Ninian Beall. This paper, too, is illustrated with a portrait of its subject. The facts deal mostly with Beall's experience in the English civil war and with his subsequent servitude in Barbadoes, from whence he came to Maryland. Here he married, raised a family and, if estimates are well based, has now 70,000 living descendants. An editorial note to this paper quotes a statement that Beall's remains were brought to light during building operations in the Georgetown section of Washington. Nothing is said as to the accuracy of the statement, or as to the later disposal of his bones.

Another chapter in Maryland history is covered by a sketch of George Gordon, pioneer merchant, land owner, and land jobber at Rock Creek in the days before Georgetown existed. When the General Assembly in 1745 authorized the establishment of a tobacco inspection house on Gordon's land it unwittingly began the development of the later national capital.

Of less interest to Maryland readers are valuable articles on the history of Suter's tavern at Georgetown, on the life of the scholar Peter Force, and on the glebe land in Alexandria County, Va.

LOUIS D. SCISCO

Charles Williamson, Genesee Promoter, Friend of Anglo-American Rapprochement. By HELEN I. COWAN. (Rochester Historical Society Publications XIX.) Rochester, N. Y.: The Society, 1941. 356 pp. $4.

One hundred fifty years ago, Captain Charles Williamson, late of the Twenty-Fifth Regiment of the British Army and a former prisoner of the American revolutionists, became a naturalized citizen of the United States at Philadelphia. Already he had found life in a young country fascinating enough to marry the daughter of his erstwhile jailor at Roxbury, Massachusetts. Now, thirty-four years of age, not unhandsome, energetic and imbued with many attributes of the modern high pressure promoter, Williamson had further designs upon America's bounty. As agent for the Pulteney Association (British), owners of 1,000,000 acres of Genesee lands in western New York, the former British officer was eager to found a settlement "for Peace, Plenty, and every luxury this world can afford." Citizenship was necessary to hold land in those days of strained Anglo-American relations following the Revolution.

Yet, Williamson's Americanization was no pretense. He believed in the economic possibilities of the Geneseo, and politically he was republican enough to endorse Federalist policies whole-heartedly. The testing of his patriotism came with the frontier quarrels involving Fort Niagara and Sodus Bay. At no little risk to himself, considering his former status as a British officer, he refused to follow the dictum, Once an Englishman, always an Englishman.

Maryland readers will find particular interest in Williamson's opening of the Susquehanna Trail, his encouragement of trade between Geneseo and Baltimore, and his efforts to bring about migration from Maryland to his project. That his efforts were not entirely unsuccessful is evidenced by the frequency with which the familiar names of Ellicott—both Andrew and Joseph—Carroll, Caton, Carson, Dorsey and Fitzhugh—the latter at least half a Marylander—are scattered through the study. Too, Colonel Nathaniel Rochester whose name stands for a thriving city today in the Genesee country is mentioned.

The emphasis of the book is on the management and the financial aspect of the Association. In these matters, Williamson, with the boundless optimism of many contemporary dealers in real estate over-reached himself and met with disaster. The book is objective, documented and scholarly, though the style is sometimes turgid. Excellent illustrations from contemporary sources contribute to the book, as do end-papers by the inimitable Yardley of Baltimore.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE

Robert Colgate the Immigrant: A Genealogy of the New York Colgates and Some Associated Lines. Compiled by TRUMAN ABBE and HUBERT ABBE HOWSON. New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co., 1941. 464 pp., 5 charts. $5.

This is a genealogy and history of the well-known American family of Colgate—the family which endowed and gave its name to Colgate Uni-

versity. The family is fortunate in having had for its founder a man of education and, apparently, of ideals, whose life and tribulations are set forth in an interesting manner in this work. The English part of this history is especially worthy of notice; so too the account of the founding and development of the soap business in America. Other families of Colgate receive notice, notably that of Colonel Richard Colgate, who settled in Baltimore County (not Baltimore, as this genealogy has it) before 1700, and is responsible for the name of Colgate's Creek on Patapsco River. We understand that this part of the Colgate genealogy is taken from a work styled *Ancestry and Descendants of Richard Colgate Dale*, which this reviewer has not had an opportunity of examining. As given in the Colgate Genealogy, the alleged parentage of Richard Colgate must be taken on faith. We are surprised to learn that he was, in fact, "Sir" Richard, and that his mother-in-law, who figures in Baltimore County records as Mrs. Rebecca Herbert, was "Lady Herbert." On the whole, however, even if this small part is doubtful, the Colgate Genealogy seems to be very well put together. It is handsomely printed and generously supplied with illustrations. It is noteworthy that the Colgates were, on the whole, a better looking sort of people than the disgruntled and sometimes forlorn looking individuals, photographs of whom are interspersed among the pages of so many genealogies. No doubt the qualities of the founder, who came of a substantial Kentish yeoman family, had something to do with this, and affluence contributed its part.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library. Compiled by HOWARD H. PECKHAM. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942. 403 pp.

The Superior Court Diary of William Samuel Johnson, 1772-1773. Edited by JOHN T. FARRELL. [American Legal Records, Vol. IV.] Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association, 1942. lxv, 293 pp.

Catalogue of American Portraits in the New York Historical Society . . . New York: The Society, 1941. 374 pp. illus. $2.

Survey of the Manuscript Collections in the New York Historical Society. New York: The Society, 1941. 96 pp. $1.

William Grant Cook, His Ancestors and Descendants. [WILLIAM G. COOK, compiler.] Chicago, Illinois: The compiler, 1942. 178 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE FRIETSCHIE EPISODE

Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine:*

I read with great interest the article "Barbara Frietschie" by Dorothy M. and William R. Quynn, in the September number of the Magazine.

It is, undoubtedly, the most scholarly contribution to this much discussed subject.

However, though the authors refer to H. Kyd Douglas' *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, they do not refer to his *I Rode with Stonewall.* I remember Douglas well. He was a man of undoubted integrity, whose boyhood home was not far from Frederick. In the book just referred to, Chapter XV, the complete story of Jackson's movements at the time in question are given.

After referring to the fact that Stonewall Jackson was anxious to see the Rev. Dr. Ross, but was unable to do so because the Doctor had not yet arisen, the author continues:

> We then went by the most direct route through Mill Street to the head of the column. As for Barbara Frietchie, we did not pass her house. There was such an old woman in Frederick, in her ninety-sixth year and bedridden. She never saw Stonewall Jackson and he never saw her. I was with him every minute while he was in the town, and nothing like the patriotic incident so graphically described by Mr. Whittier in his poem ever occurred.

Douglas' further statement suggesting that Barbara Frietchie would have preferred to have waved the Confederate flag seems to be more than doubtful. Yet, it had nothing to do with his description of what occurred at Frederick. It is referred to in Note 4 to Chapter XV.

WALTER H. BUCK

Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine:*

We appreciate Mr. Buck's interest in our article.

If we had published a bibliography of Barbara Frietschie material, we would have included Henry Kyd Douglas' *I Rode with Stonewall.* Although we have cited this and other accounts by Douglas, we have found it impossible to rely on him for *contemporary* evidence, owing to the form in which this material is presented.

According to Fletcher Green in his scholarly chapter at the end of this book, Douglas rewrote his manuscript in 1898-1899, using his diary and other papers. He had previously published sections dealing with the occupation of Frederick. These earlier accounts, which appeared in 1886, denied the Barbara Frietschie story, or at least Jackson's part in it. They did not mention Jackson's route through Frederick.

When the manuscript was reworked in 1898-1899, some changes were made. We have not seen the manuscript and the book does not indicate additions. That there were some is revealed by references to events happening after 1862.

A comparison of the accounts published in 1886 with that appearing in *I Rode with Stonewall* shows only one added statement which had not been made in print by other writers between 1862 and 1898, — that Douglas was a friend of Dr. Zacharias. All other details added had been discussed publicly in Frederick and elsewhere and published by persons writing about Barbara Frietschie. Some of the facts had appeared in the newspapers.

It is quite possible that the details of Jackson's route had been recorded in Douglas' original diary. We cannot assure that this was the case without examining the diary, especially since Douglas lived near Frederick after the war and must have been in touch with what was being said and written there. If he rewrote his recollections in 1898-1899, his memories of the affair may have been colored by what he had heard in more recent years. We would welcome evidence that this was not the case.

William R. Quynn
Dorothy Mackay Quynn

More about Eminent Members of the Bar

Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine:*

Chief Judge Carroll T. Bond of the Court of Appeals in a recent letter with reference to my article published in the September number of your magazine, "The Names of the Great Lawyers on the Frieze of the Baltimore Supreme Bench Court Room," has been good enough, after giving the article too generous praise, to suggest "some interesting additional facts and some amendments;" and for the sake of historical accuracy I hasten to call attention to the amendments which should be made.

In speaking of Kilty I stated, "As there were no reports of the decisions of the Court of Chancery in that day, few, if any, of his decisions are preserved," and there is nothing under the name of Chancellor Hanson implying anything to the contrary as to his decisions. I am indebted to Judge Bond for reminding me that "A number of Kilty's opinions appear in Reports of Appeals from Chancery in 2 H. & J. to 7 H. & J. and of Hanson's opinions in the early *Maryland Reports* up to 3 H. & J.

Under the name Duvall I stated that he "in 1796 resigned (from Congress) to accept the appointment to the highest court of Maryland." Judge Bond, author of the best history of the Court of Appeals, states, "Duvall was never on the Court of Appeals"; in point of fact, Duvall resigned to become judge of the General Court and in 1806 was appointed to the Court of Appeals but declined to accept. I relied for my statement on Andrews' *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, Sams and Riley's *Bench and Bar of Maryland*, *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* and on Carson's *History of the Supreme Court*, all of which make the same erroneous statement; and the first list of judges of the several courts of Maryland published in 4th H. & McH. has among the names of the judges of the Court of Appeals the name "Gabriel Duvall;" but in Note "e" attached, not to Duvall's name, but to that of Richard Sprigg, this appears: "Appointed in the place of Duvall, who did not accept."

Under the name of Wirt the article, in addition to stating that Wirt was a Marylander by birth, should have stated that he was, "a Baltimorean in his last years."

Judge Bond also kindly calls to notice the fact that it appears from the records of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore, where LeGrand was baptized on July 29, 1816, that he was baptized "William John

Carroll LeGrand" and that he was born on August 31, 1815, not 1814, the year to which his birth is usually ascribed, and that this makes Judge LeGrand under thirty when he was appointed to the Trial Court.

It is also a fact that the address of Judge McSherry before the Maryland State Bar Association in Annapolis was given in 1904 and not in 1903, although the *Reports* of both years are bound together.

HENRY D. HARLAN

MACGILL (MCGILL) AND GRIFFITH

Information concerning the following, or addresses of their *descendants* is sought for use in printing the family tree of the Macgills or McGills of Maryland:

Sarah Warfield Griffith, daughter of Nicholas and Anne (Ridgely) Griffith, who married Amos Brown in 1808.

Elizabeth Ridgely, who married Joshua Griffith of Maryland in 1798 and moved to Owenboro, Kentucky.

Walter Ridgely Griffith, born in 1877, and his two sisters Florence and Rosanna, all children of Robert Stewart Griffith.

Thomas Macgill, who married Anna Higgins April 8, 1799, and was son of Thomas Macgill and Eleanor Pottinger.

Robert Macgill, brother of Thomas above, who married Eleanor Beall, daughter of Basil and Sarah Beall of Prince George's County, Maryland, and who died about 1832 in Kentucky.

Henrietta Dorsey Macgill, daughter of Basil Macgill of Montgomery County and sister of Dr. Lloyd Thomas Macgill, Sr., of Frederick County, Maryland. She married Michael Pugh, probably of Montgomery or Prince George's County, Maryland.

Herbert D. McGill, son of Benjamin Franklin McGill by his marriage to Helen Davis, and Lloyd and Mary children by his marriage to Theda Dodge.

JOHN MCGILL
1523 22nd St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Bennett and Parsons—I would like to obtain information on my ancestors, the Bennett and Parsons families. There were five Bennett brothers. One named Tilghman is mentioned in the *History of Frederick County*, which states that the Bennetts originally settled on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The other four brothers were named John, John Rodney, John Ashley, John Pinkney, and John William. John Pinkney Bennett, my great-great-grandfather, was born September 15, 1801, in Maryland, and died March 24, 1882, in Minnesota. He married Maria Parsons. Her father, name unknown, was a member of the Continental Dragoons. She died in the 1850's in Maryland. I would like to know the names of the parents, grandparents, etc., of the Bennett brothers and to obtain data on the family of Maria Parsons.

WILLIAM M. CUMMINGS
1076 Blair Ave.,
St. Paul, Minn.

Hanson—Genealogies say John Hanson, 1st, married Mary, daughter of Col. Thomas Hussey, and had John in 1680; and that this John, Jr., married Elizabeth, daughter of Col. Thomas Hussey. The latter statement is well-known to be true. Who was the wife of John Hanson 1st? Does anyone know?

HUGH C. MIDDLETON
314 E. Capitol St.,
Washington, D. C.

Welch—Where in Anne Arundel County was the plantation of Richard Welch, from the shore of which, during the War of 1812, the British war-ships could be seen?

GRACE VERNON SMITH
Ridgely, Md.

Young Bible—Desire information regarding the Bible belonging to John Young, formerly of 86 Mulberry St., Baltimore. The Bible descended to him from his father Jehu and his grandmother Rachel Young, and was loaned to a nephew or cousin of John, named Otho or Otis Young, wife Jennie, who lived in the South. Am trying to find name of Jehu's father and the maiden name of Rachel.

EMILY R. WILLIAMS
22 E. 25th St.,
Baltimore, Md.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

TALBOT HAMLIN is the author of various books on architectural themes, including *Architecture through the Ages* (New York, 1940) and now has in preparation another volume to be entitled *The Greek Revival in American Architecture*. Besides having been a practitioner in the profession of which he writes with authority, he has long been associated with Columbia University where he is a lecturer and the librarian of the Avery architectural library. ☆ JUDGE W. CALVIN CHESNUT, for many years a distinguished member of the Baltimore Bar and lecturer in the University of Maryland law school, now a member of the Board of Regents of the University, needs no introduction. He has been a member of this Society since 1897. ☆ The teaching profession has lost one of the contributors to this issue to the armed services. CHARLES BRANCH CLARK has received a lieutenant's commission in the Marine Corps. ☆ WILLIAM R. QUYNN and DOROTHY M. QUYNN are both assistant professors in Duke University, Durham, N. C. ☆ FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER has long been a contributor on genealogical topics to this and other journals. He is an authority on heraldry and the author of *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore, 1922). ☆ As stated in the issue of December, 1941, LOCKWOOD BARR is a resident of New York City who devotes his leisure time to investigation of early American clockmaking and like crafts.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

October 12, 1942.—The regular monthly meetings of the Society were resumed this evening, with President Radcliffe in the chair.

The President extended a brief greeting to the members and guests and stated that he hoped that in spite of the times the Society would continue to go forward and that he had interesting plans which he hoped could be carried out during the winter months. The minutes of the last meeting and the list of persons nominated for membership were read.

The following persons, previously nominated, were elected:

Active

Mrs. Anthony V. Buckness
Mrs. Albert D. Graham
Mr. Samuel H. Hoffberger
Mr. Milford Nathan
Dr. David Moore Robinson
Mr. Thomas B. Radcliffe
Mrs. Jesse Slingluff, Jr.
Congressman David J. Ward

Associate

Mr. Richard Glass

The following deaths were reported:

Mrs. A. B. Bibbins, on May 25, 1942
Mr. Edward J. Colgan, Jr., on September 19, 1942
Mr. John W. Garrett, on June 26, 1942
Mrs. John W. Harrison, on October 4, 1942
Mr. Charles McHenry Howard, on May 19, 1942
Mr. Blanchard Randall, on August 24, 1942

Mr. B. Howell Griswold, Jr., introduced Miss Katherine Scarborough, who gave a most interesting talk on the topic, "Tall Tales of Maryland." A rising vote of thanks was extended to the speaker. The meeting then adjourned.

November 9, 1942.—The regular meeting of the Society was called to order by the President. Judge Samuel K. Dennis moved that the reading of the minutes of the last meeting be dispensed with. The motion was carried. A list of donations to the library was read. The gift of Mr. L. Manuel Hendler of a letter from Thomas Jefferson, dated May 28, 1791, at Saratoga, to Henry Remsen of Philadelphia, was announced by Judge Dennis who gave a brief outline of the subject matter. The thanks of the Society were extended by unanimous vote to Mr. Hendler for this valuable addition to the collections of the Society.

The following were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. Louis Azrael
Mr. Charles M. Bartlett
Mrs. H. Rowland Clapp
Mrs. Lelia Mitchell Egerton
Mrs. Frederick Moore Gambrill
Miss Mabel L. Gillespie
Mrs. Horace Greenhaw
Miss Virginia Ayres Grove
Mr. Franklin P. Harry
Mr. Robert P. Harris
Mrs. John Armstrong Kirby
Judge J. Owen Knotts
Mr. Claude Lutman
Rev. B. L. McGowan
Mr. William J. Mann, Jr.
Miss E. Verina Rider
Mrs. Frances M. Rowe
Mrs. Walter L. Simpson
Mr. Arthur W. Tayman
Mr. John A. Pentz
Mr. Edward H. West
Mr. E. Hyatt Wight

Associate

Mrs. Helen E. Becker
Miss C. Virginia Diedel
Mrs. Robert E. Druck
Mrs. Nellie G. Hardy
Mrs. George M. Harding
Mr. Louis J. Heizmann
Mr. John McGill

In the absence of Mr. Griswold, chairman of the committee on addresses, the President introduced as speaker Dr. St. George Leakin Sioussat, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress. His subject was "Some Maryland Items in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress."

Vice-President J. Hall Pleasants in making a motion that the thanks of the Society be extended to Dr. Sioussat for his most interesting talk, requested Dr. Sioussat to prepare a paper showing the titles of the Maryland items in the Library of Congress, with comment on the collections, to serve as a catalogue which would be invaluable to students of Maryland history. The motion was unanimously carried with a rising vote.

The President stated that the Council has created the position of Director of the Society and he felt that the Society had been fortunate in obtaining the services of Mr. James W. Foster, who has been appointed to this position. Mr. Foster expressed his appreciation of the confidence shown him and said that he would seek in every way to advance the interests of the Society and to be of service to the officers and members.

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